





Saml. Megg. Esq.



Division

Section

SCB

11031

Sam. Wegg
1749.



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Old Testament,

In ANSWER to the

Misrepresentations and Calumnies

OF
THOMAS MORGAN, M.D.
AND
MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

By SAMUEL CHANDLER.

When Men will be learned beyond the Measures of Sobriety, they must run into Schemes and Methods of philosophizing equally absurd and irreligious. Mor. Philos. Vol. I. p. 189.

Nil dissimulatio proficit. Paucis imponit leuiter extrinsecus inducta facies. Veritas in omnem partem sui semper eadem est. Quæ decipiunt nihil habent solidi. Tenue est mendacium: Per lucet si diligenter inspexeris. Seneca Epist. 79.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. NOON, at the *White-Hart, Cheapside*, R. HETT,
at the *Bible and Crown*, and J. DAVIDSON at the *Angel*,
both in the *Poultry*. MDCCXLI.

VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RACE
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT

THOMAS MORGAN, M.D.

MORAL PHILOSOPHER

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIRST VOLUME
CONTAINS THE HISTORY OF THE
RACE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
FROM THE FIRST MENTION OF
THEY IN THE BIBLE TO THE
TIME OF THE EXILE IN BABYLON
THE SECOND VOLUME
CONTAINS THE HISTORY OF THE
RACE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
FROM THE TIME OF THE EXILE
IN BABYLON TO THE
TIME OF THE RETURN TO
JERUSALEM

LONDON
Printed by J. Baskin, at the
New York and London
Printers, in the Strand.
1754.

P R E F A C E.

I Shall make no other Apology for engaging in the Controversy with the Moral Philosopher, than that I think every Man hath a Right to vindicate his own Principles, and every Friend to Revelation is bound to use his best Endeavours to support the Credit and Authority of it. I wish every Thing personal could have been kept out of this Debate; but the Manner in which the Philosopher hath treated the Subject renders it impossible.

No one can read this Author, without perceiving in every Page of him almost, a very deep Prejudice against the Old Testament History, and all the Characters of Persons therein recorded. Real Blemishes he aggravates, without making the Allowances due to the Weaknesses and Infirmities of human Nature; and if the History will not furnish him with Occasions for Censure, his want of Care in reading the History, or other Causes too often do; of which the following Instances are a

Proof, I wish it had never been in my Power to have produced.

The Character of Abraham ever was, and still is highly venerable throughout all the eastern World, and is mentioned in the Jewish and Christian Writings with the greatest Honour and Regard. And yet from one incident in his Life, this Moral Philosopher hath painted him as one of the most abandoned and profligate Wretches, that ever lived in a Nation. To aggravate his Charge against him, he tells us what I think the History doth not say; that he prevailed on Sarai to deny her being his Wife; and then that, he would have prostituted her and sacrificed her Chastity; yea that he was ready, i. e. prepared and disposed, to prostitute and sacrifice her Chastity, to secure himself a Settlement in Egypt. Had he mention'd this in the Manner the Scriptures do, had he complained of it as an Instance of Imprudence, or as scarce reconcilable with Integrity, or his known Faith in and Dependence on God, or spoken of it as a Conduct that might have endangered her Chastity, I should have taken little or no Notice of it. But surely the whole of Abraham's Character will free him from the Charge of a Design of Prostitution, a Readiness to sacrifice his Wife's Chastity; and that for a Reason, which I am persuaded he would never have given, if he had carefully read the History that was before him, for a settlement in Egypt, contrary to God's Promise, that he should be settled in Canaan. Surely this is not using the venerable Patriarch with that Candour which his
Name

Name and Character deserves, especially as this part of his History is capable of a much more favourable Turn, and which therefore I think would have been much more agreeable to the splendid Title of a Moral Philosopher to have given it.

*Joseph's Character as mentioned in the Old Testament, appears truly amiable and excellent, and he hath been in all Ages justly esteemed as a Pattern of Fortitude and Chastity. His Integrity in his Master's House was without Blemish. His Refusal to comply with the repeated Solicitations of his Mistress, shewed a Moderation and Temperance unconquerable by the strongest Persuasives. The Principles on which he grounded his Refusal, shewed him just, generous, and rationally religious. My Master hath committed all that he hath to my Hand, neither hath he kept back any Thing from me but thee, because thou art his Wife: How then can I do this great Wickedness and sin against God? Can any Man read this, without being charm'd with so lovely a Conduct, or refrain from commending such Piety and Honour? I would therefore hope that the Philosopher himself will, upon a cooler Reflection, wish the following Insinuation had never dropped from his Pen, viz. * Whether Joseph during this Confinement in the King's Prison, and the great Power and Trust there committed to him, had not made up the Matter with his old Mistress, is not said, and I shall presume to determine nothing about it. Not to mention the Unlikelihood of*

* Vol. III. p. 9.

a Prisoner's carrying on a criminal Correspondence with the Wife of the Captain of the Guards, of a powerful King, during his Confinement in a Jail, the History, he allows, makes no mention of it. Why then doth he make the Suggestion? Why doth he leave it in such Uncertainty, but to create a Suspicion in the Reader's Mind of the Truth of it? If the History says nothing of it, what could give rise to so cruel an Insinuation? 'Tis in my Judgment unjust even to suspect another of a Crime without Foundation, and much more to propagate and make publick such a groundless Suspicion.

*Hannah, the Mother of Samuel, had been long barren, and having made a Vow to God at his House that if he would give her a Son, she would devote him to the Lord, she returned to her House; and as the Historian expressly observes, Elkanah * her Husband knew his Wife, and the Lord remembered her. But the Philosopher offended with Samuel, bears hard upon his Mother, and tells Dr. Leland, † he might be nearer allied to the high Priesthood than he imagines, that she told her Distress for a Child to the PRIESTS, and that Samuel's Sons lay with the Women who came up to the Sanctuary, with their Gifts and Offerings. And in order to strengthen the Suggestion of her being debauch'd by the Priests he affirms, that the Lord took him and bred him up as his own Son, and cloathed him while a Child, as a Priest, in a linen Ephod; that he knows not*

* 1 Sam. i. 19.

Vol. III. p. 308.

how far this may help out *Samuel's* Right to the Priesthood, and that all this the historian hath plainly and frankly told us. *Whereas the historian hath neither plainly nor at all told us, that she told her Distress for a Child to the PRIESTS, nor that the Lord took him, and bred him up as his own Son, and cloathed him with a linen Ephod whilst a Child; nor is there the least Insinuation in him of her criminal Commerce with the Priests. The Philosopher, should have spared an helpless Woman, and not have introduced the God of Israel as a favourer of those Crimes of the Priests, at which he expressed the highest Indignation, and punished with the most exemplary and lasting Judgments.*

*His Treatment of Moses, in all Parts of his Character, is extreamly severe. He frequently represents him as a Conjuror, expressly calls him an Impostor, and that he may farther fasten on him the Character of a Murtherer too, he doth not scruple in the most positive Manner to tell the World, that * he was so cruel and blood-thirsty a Man, as that he was not suffered to live in his Posterity, or survive himself in his Issue: hereby making his being Childless a just Judgment of God upon him for his Cruelty, and the immediate Punishment of his Love of and Delight in Blood. And yet Moses did live in his Posterity, and had a numerous one too so long after his Decease, as the Reigns of David and Solomon, some of whom were in Stations of great Dignity under the Reigns of those Princes, as is evident to the strongest Conviction from the sacred Historians. † The Songs*

* Vol. III. p. 335. † 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. &c. xxvi. 24, &c.

of *Moses* were *Gerſhom* and *Eliezer*. Of the Sons of *Gerſhom*, *Shebuel* was the chief. And the Sons of *Eliezer* were *Rehabiah* the Chief. And *Eliezer* had none other Sons, but the Sons of *Rehabiah* were very many. And *Shebuel*, the Son of *Gerſhom*, the Son of *Moses*, was Ruler of the Treasures. And his Brethren by *Eliezer* were over all the Treasures of the dedicate Things, which the King and chief Fathers and Captains had dedicated. *The most friendly Apology that can be made for the Philosopher here is, that he wrote without thinking or reading; and I wish for his own sake, that he would be more careful of his Facts, and not put it into any Man's Power even to suspect, that he takes Pleasure in speaking reproachfully and injuriously of the Dead.*

*What were the Sentiments of the Antients on this Head, may be known by many strong Testimonies. * Homer. 'Tis impious to insult the Dead. † Archilochus in Stobæus. 'Tis not just to reproach men that are dead. ‡ SOPHOCLES. He that lives should defend the Dead as remembering that he himself must die. || Plato thought it an Argument of a sordid womanish*

* οὐκ οὖν κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχεται εἶναι. *Odys.* χ. v. 412.

† οὐ γὰρ ἐδάδα κατθανοῖσι κερτομεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν. *Stob.* Tit. 124.

‡ χρεὶν δὲ τῷ τεθνηκότι τὸν ζῶντ' ἐπαρκεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς θανέμενον. *Lariff. . pnd. Eund. Ibid.*

|| Ἀνελευθέρου δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ—γυναικείας τε καὶ σμικρὰς διανοίας. πολέμιον νομίζειν τὸ σῶμα τε τεθνεώτος, ἀποπλάμενε καὶ ἐχθρῶ—ἢ οὐκ οὐ τι διαφορὰν εἶναι τῆς τούτου ποιούντας τῶν κυνῶν,

womanish base Disposition to treat ill even the Body of an Enemy when he himself was dead, *and compares those who did it to Dogs, snarling at the Stones which struck them, and not meddling with those who threw them.*

*'Tis a noble Passage of Demosthenes: * What Man can be ignorant, that tho' every Man that lives is subject to more or less Envy, yet that even an Enemy will no longer hate or dishonour the Dead? And so inviolable was the Reverence that they thought due to them, that it was one of the Laws of Solon: † Let no one speak Evil of the Dead, even tho' he should be reproach'd by any one of his Children. This Law, ‡ as Ulpian in his Commentary on the Place observes, extended to all the Dead, whatever were their Characters. And therefore the Orator imputes it to Leptines, as the highest Aggravation of his Conduct, that he reproached and charged with Crimes*

κυνων, αι τοις λιθοις οις αν βληθωσι χαλεπαινεσι, τε βαλλον-
τος εχ απομενας. Plat. de Republ. l. 5. p. 469. Edit.
Serran.

* Τις γαρ εκ οιδε των παντων, οτι τοις μεν ζωσι πασιν
υπεση τις η πλειων η ελαττων φθονος. Της τεθνεωσας δε εδε
των εχθρων εδεις ει μισει. Demost. de coron. p. 524. Edit.
Francof. Stobæus reads the last Words, εδεις ατιμηση. Stob.
Sentent. p. 603. Edit. tert.

† Κακεινος των καλως δοκυντων εχεν νομων Σολωνος εστι.
Μη λεγειν κακως τον τεθνεωσα' μηδ' αν υπο τε εκεινς τις
ακη παιδων. Demost. cont. Leptin. p. 556.

‡ Ο Σολωνος νομος απηγουρευσε της τεθνεωσας απαντας λεγειν,
κ' κως, καν ερεθιζηται τις υπο των παιδων τε τεθνηκοσος υβρι-
ζομενος.

the worthy Dead, who by their Virtues had deserved well of Mankind whilst they lived. And unquestionably Humanity, Morality and true Philosophy all teach us, to consider the Actions of Mankind in the most favourable Light that we can, and particularly not to arraign with too great Severity the Conduct of the Dead; especially as they are incapable of appearing in their own Justification, and urging in their Defence those Circumstances, which, if thoroughly understood, might in many Instances be a full Vindication of their Behaviour, and in others greatly alleviate the Unreasonableness and Guilt of it.

I persuade myself, that every Gentleman, who knows what is due to Reputation and Character, and who would not be animadverted on without Mercy after Death, nor have every Errour of his Life represented in the strongest Circumstances of Aggravation, must greatly dislike every Appearance of Cruelty towards the Names and Memories of the Deceased, and rather wish that, in all Controversies about Religion and Revelation, every Thing of this Kind were carefully avoided, because their Truth or Falsehood doth not depend on the Behaviour of particular Persons. If Judaism be an Imposture, let it fairly be proved so. If Christianity hath no Foundation of Evidence, let it be made appear. I have no Objection against any Man's making the Attempt. But, in the Name of God, let it be done with Decency and Good-Manners, by proper Authorities, by Reason and Argument, and by rational Methods that may tend to discover Truth, and convince the Judgment
of

of the Reader. But spare the Dead, and treat the Living at least with Decency. Especially where the Controversy doth not require the canvassing their Characters. What hath the Suggestion of Joseph's making up the Matter with his Mistress, and the defaming the Mother of Samuel, to do in this Debate? What do they prove for, or against the Divine Authority of the Jewish Lawgiver, or Law? This is not arguing, and will never be thought so by wise Men. Let a Regard to Truth and Honesty be inviolably preserved, the Debate be managed with Moderation and Temper, and the infamous Method of Lying for, or against Revelation, be religiously avoided, and I have nothing to object against it. I wish that every Cause was thoroughly examined, and wherever Truth and Reason prevail, as far as I know my own Heart, I am ready to embrace it.

Judaism and Christianity, I am yet fully persuaded, both owe their Original to God. I have with the utmost Impartiality, if I am not deceived in myself, examined them both. I have taken nothing from Education, by implicit Faith. I am abundantly sensible of the Objections that are urged by the Enemies of Revelation in general, and have received no new Information by any Thing the Philosopher hath objected against Judaism in particular. I have no worldly Interest to serve, nor any Views of Preferment and Advantage to secure, by dissembling my real Sentiments either as to one or the other of them. And I doubt not, but that great Numbers of the Clergy, both in the Establishment, and out

of

of it, are, in these respects, what they profess to be, from as full Conviction and Principle.

*I cannot therefore but think it extremely hard, that we should all in general be represented as Fools or Knaves. We are, it seems, * entrenched under impregnable Darkness, and go on with invincible Resolution to batter and destroy all moral Reason and Philosophy. He bids us, † come out of the Clouds, and tells the World, that our great Modesty and Shyness, in not openly declaring what the Doctrines of immediate Inspiration and Revelation are, makes it evident, that our Zeal for them is only in Appearance, that we only put it on as a Disguise, and to serve a private Turn, which we would not have the believing Laity take notice of, or look into; and that hereby we make it plain, that while we are crying out against Infidelity, we have not Divine Faith enough to speak out our Minds, and lead the People with Honour and Integrity in the Way of Truth, without Hope of Reward, or Fear of Punishment from Man; that our Sophistry must be Reason, our Evasions Faith, our Cowardice and Temporising Humane Prudence, and our very Ignorance and Air of Importance Divine Knowledge. What is the plain Language of all this, but that all the Clergy of every Denomination, who will not obey the Orders of this Philosophical Dictator, nor enter into a Dispute with him about the peculiar Doctrines of Revelation, are a Parcel of disguised Impostors, by-*

* Vol. III. p. 4.

† Vol. II. Pref. p. 19, 20.

percritical Zealots, secret Infidels, base Cowards, ignorant Pretenders, and solemn temporising Villains? Severe Censure, in an Affair, as to which 'tis impossible he should be any competent Judge! and in which I doubt not but great Numbers can appeal from him to a more impartial Tribunal, that they are intirely innocent. That there are Men of very corrupt Principles and Morals in all Professions of Life, is, I am afraid, too evidently true. But no Body of Men would think themselves well used, to be in general reproached for the Crimes of some particular Persons amongst them. Nor do such indiscriminate Censures add any Thing of Ornament or Strength to any Argument or Cause whatsoever.

But surely he might have spared this Profusion of Good-Manners, and forbore to have strewed all these fragrant Flowers. For the Charge itself is not true. The Doctrines of immediate Revelation have been frequently and openly declared, and the Philosopher, if he hath a mind to shew his Talent at disputing against them, need not be at a Loss where to find them, or with whom to begin. I will point him out the Man, that seems to have come quite out of the Clouds, and that never was charged with that Modesty and Shyness, which he severely reproaches as unpardonable Crimes in others. The Man I mean is the Reverend Mr. Thomas Morgan, once a Dissenting Minister at Marleborough, now living, tho' now no longer extant in that Character. This once learned Divine, previous to his Ordination, being asked, "What his Ends were
" in

“ in desiring the Office of the Ministry,” gravely answers : The Glory of God, the Good of Souls, the advancing the Honour and Interest of Christ in the World, and the placing himself in such a State as might most effectually enable him to obtain the future everlasting Blessedness, and help others to obtain it. And when asked, “ Whether he would be diligent, in praying, reading, administering the Sacraments, Discipline, and doing all Ministerial Duties,” solemnly replies : I purpose and shall endeavour, by the Strength of Christ, and according to the Measure of his Strength and Grace afforded me, so to discharge my Trust in each of these, as to approve myself herein to God, to my own Conscience, and to the Church of Christ, and not to count even my Life dear to me, so that I may win Christ, approve myself faithful, and finish my Course with Joy. And finally, being farther asked, to Give an Account of his Faith, he hath these memorable Articles, which he could draw, most of them, from no other Source but Revelation, as he then understood, or at least professed to understand the Doctrines of it.

1. *“ I BELIEVE, that from the Nature of Man, as a rational, self-determining Agent—there results a necessary, eternal and immutable Obligation, to the most perfect and exact Obedience or Conformity to the Divine Will, however made known to him, either in the Nature and Reason of Things, or by supernatural and positive Revelation.*

2. *“ I BE-*

2. " I BELIEVE *that this unchangeable Law of*
" *Nature—obliges us, with respect to God—our Fel-*
" *low-Creatures—and ourselves.*

3. " *As the Holy Scriptures OF THE OLD and*
" *New Testament, contain Doctrines of the most aw-*
" *ful and eternal Consequence, relating to the Glory of*
" *God, and Happiness of Mankind—As the Truth of*
" *these Writings are yet farther confirmed by the*
" *exact Correspondence between Scripture Prophecies*
" *and Events, in the most punctual Accomplish-*
" *ment of those Prophecies—From these inherent and*
" *essential Characters of a Divine Original and Au-*
" *thority, added to miraculous external Evidence: I*
" *FIRMLY AND STEADFASTLY BELIEVE, that*
" *these Sacred Writings are the infallible Word and*
" *Law of God to Man, containing all Things neces-*
" *sary to be believed and practised, in order to Salva-*
" *tion.*

4. " I BELIEVE *the Doctrine of the ever-blessed*
" *and glorious Trinity, as contained in the Sacred*
" *Writings: That God the Father, by an eternal Act*
" *of Generation, hath communicated the Divine Nature*
" *and Essence to the Son, who was in the Beginning*
" *with God, and who was God.*

5. " I BELIEVE *that the Holy Ghost, in a Man-*
" *ner incomprehensible to us, proceeds both from the*
" *Father and the Son—and therefore I believe, that*
" *as the Father is God, so likewise the Son is God,*
" *and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet that there*
" *are not Three, but only One suprem, indepen-*
" *dent,*

*“ dent, self-existent Being, of absolute and infinite
 “ Perfection, or God.*

6. *“ I BELIEVE that God created the first Parents
 “ of Mankind in a State of Happiness and Integrity—
 “ both natural and moral Rectitude—That in this
 “ State of Innocence and Integrity, God—gave them a
 “ compleat and perfect Law—to which natural Law
 “ was superadded one positive Precept, restraining
 “ them from—the Tree of Knowledge of Good and
 “ Evil: A perfect personal Obedience to this whole
 “ complex Law, being enforced by the Penalty Death,
 “ on any the least Defection or Failure.*

7. *“ I BELIEVE that the Death here threatned,
 “ implies not only bare—Separation of Soul and Body,
 “ but also the Seclusion of both from the Divine Pre-
 “ sence and Favour, or the Loss of the intire Hap-
 “ piness of the whole Man, Soul and Body.*

8. *“ I BELIEVE that this first Covenant, or
 “ Law of Works, was not, or could not be restrained
 “ personally to our first Parents, but extended to
 “ all their natural Offspring, or to the whole Human
 “ Race.*

9. *“ I BELIEVE that our first Parents—by their
 “ Pride, Infidelity and Concupiscence, in eating the
 “ forbidden Fruit, lost their Integrity, forfeited their
 “ Happiness, sunk into Sensuality, and became misera-
 “ ble Vassals to Sin and Satan.*

10. *“ And, I BELIEVE, that this natural Pra-
 “ vity, Corruption, and Defect of legal Righteousness,
 “ are derived from Adam to all his natural Offspring;
 and*

“ *and this, not only by mere mechanical Necessity,*
 “ *and the Laws of Nature and Generation, but by*
 “ *the positive Will and Appointment of God also.*

13. “ I BELIEVE *that God—foreseeing this gene-*
 “ *ral Fall of Man, consulted his Recovery ; and, to*
 “ *that End, entered into a COVENANT OF RE-*
 “ *DEMPTION with his Son, in which Christ’s Work*
 “ *is assigned, and his Reward insured ; that his great*
 “ *Undertaking should be attended with desired Success.*

14. “ I BELIEVE *that in Consequence of this*
 “ *ETERNAL COMPACT AND COVENANT be-*
 “ *tween the Father and the Son, Jesus Christ—took*
 “ *upon him the Nature of Man—and by his perfect*
 “ *Obedience unto Death, compleated the Work of*
 “ *Man’s Redemption—making such a PROPITIA-*
 “ *TION and Attonement for Sin, as most effectually*
 “ *answered the Ends of governing Justice.*

15. “ I BELIEVE *that in Consideration of this—*
 “ *PURCHASE of the Redeemer, God the Father has*
 “ *—constituted him supream Regent, Governour and*
 “ *Judge in the Mediatorial Kingdom ; or given him*
 “ *an absolute, legislative, and executive Power, in*
 “ *order effectually to obtain the Ends of his Death and*
 “ *Sufferings.*

16. “ I BELIEVE *that Jesus Christ, having by*
 “ *THE MERITS of his expiatory Sacrifice, or*
 “ *Death on the Cross, fully SATISFIED THE DE-*
 “ *MANDS OF OFFENDED JUSTICE, with Regard*
 “ *to the—Covenant of Works—and having also me-*
 “ *rited and obtained of the Father, an Act of*
 “ *Grace—he did hereupon, as Lord Redeemer, con-*

“ *stitute a new Law, or Covenant of Grace, contain-*
 “ *ing an universal conditional Grant of his purchased*
 “ *Benefits, Pardon and Eternal Life, to all who should*
 “ *accept him as their Saviour and Lord.*

17. “ *I BELIEVE that Jesus Christ, in order fi-*
 “ *nally—to secure to himself a Church of living*
 “ *Members, as the Fruit of his Death and Sufferings,*
 “ *doth vouchsafe to his own People, or to those who*
 “ *are in a special Sense given to him by the Father,*
 “ *the peculiar Assistance of his Holy Spirit, by which*
 “ *they are certainly and eventually prevailed on to*
 “ *believe and embrace the Gospel—Conversion, Rege-*
 “ *ration, and the New Nature, being declared to be*
 “ *absolutely above and beyond all the Powers of*
 “ *lapsed depraved Nature, and—being every where*
 “ *in Scripture attributed to the peculiar Assistance*
 “ *and Operation of the Spirit of God. And therefore*

18. “ *I BELIEVE this special Assistance and Di-*
 “ *vine Grace to be indispensably necessary—and that*
 “ *no bare external Means, no Force of Reason, Ar-*
 “ *gument or moral Suasion can be sufficient without it.*

19. “ *I BELIEVE that Christ—bath annexed to*
 “ *his Gospel Covenant two—external representing*
 “ *Signs of the inward Effects and Operations of his*
 “ *Spirit and Grace, the Sacraments of Baptism and*
 “ *the Lord’s Supper : By Baptism, those who are vi-*
 “ *sibly Members of his Church—are publicly and so-*
 “ *lemnly to be—recognised—as such, and receive the*
 “ *full Remission of their Sins by the Blood of Christ*
 “ *signified—by the washing of Water—And by the Sa-*
 “ *crament of Christ’s Body and Blood, his Death and*
 “ *Sufferings.*

“ *Sufferings—are solemnly to be commemorated; and*
 “ *those most inestimable Blessings, Benefits and Fruits*
 “ *of his most precious Blood, Justification and Life*
 “ *eternal—represented, conveyed, and sealed to true*
 “ *Believers in this holy Sacrament.*

20. “ *I BELIEVE that Jesus Christ—for the re-*
 “ *gular Management of Christian Societies and Wor-*
 “ *ship, hath constituted—a stated settled Ministry in*
 “ *his Church, to continue to the End of the World,*
 “ *separated from all secular Employments and Avo-*
 “ *cations, and more immediately devoted to the Care of*
 “ *Souls, in dispensing the Word and Sacraments:*
 “ *To which holy Work*

21. “ *I BELIEVE, they are, according to the Will*
 “ *and Appointment of Christ and his Apostles, to be*
 “ *publicly and solemnly ordained, separated and set*
 “ *apart by the Imposition of Hands and Prayer.*

22. “ *Finally, I BELIEVE, that Jesus Christ—*
 “ *will, at the End of this Evangelical Dispensation—*
 “ *come to judge the World—And on all finally impeni-*
 “ *tent Sinners, who rejected his Grace, or abused and*
 “ *turned it into Wantonness; who openly denied*
 “ *the Truth, or held it in Unrighteousness; who*
 “ *denied the Lord that bought them, and would not*
 “ *have this Man to reign over them, he will denounce*
 “ *that dreadful Sentence: Depart from me ye Cursed*
 “ *into everlasting Fire, prepar’d for the Devil and*
 “ *his Angels.”*

This, I think, will be thought a very sound and or-
thodox Confession, of which I have given a faithful
Extract in the Divine’s own Words; which I have

done, not only to perpetuate, as far as any small Writings of mine can do it, this Form of sound Words, but to shew, that the Reproach of the Philosopher against the Divines, that they are modest and shy in not openly declaring what the Doctrines of immediate Inspiration and Revelation are, is laid without any Foundation; and that if he hath a mind to be disputing on these Subjects, he may oppose believing Thomas to Thomas the Unbeliever; let the Doctor take the Divine to Task for his Principles, and the Philosopher charge the Preacher with as many Absurdities of an irrational Faith as he pleases. The Doctor here may, with some Decency, take what Liberties he thinks fit. He hath a Right to do it, and well knew the Divine, and is the best Judge in the World what were his Qualifications and real Sentiments. And this, I doubt not, would be a most edifying Controversy, and give equal Pleasure and Entertainment to the learned and unlearned, the believing and unbelieving Part of Mankind.

*I cannot help observing on this Occasion, that after this memorable Confession was delivered, there was a kind of prophetick Expression, that dropt from the Mouth of the worthy Minister, who gave this Reverend Divine his Charge, which looks like a Prediction of that wonderful Transmutation that hath since happened. His remarkable Words are these: * You have, like Timothy, professed a good Profession before many Witnesses; but 'tis your future Conduct must shew how much you are in Earnest. I wish this did not appear with so full a Conviction. For he asserts gene-*

* Mr. Bowden's Exhort. p. 66.

*trally, and without the least Exception, that to instruct others in the Principles of spiritual, incomprehensible, and supernatural Religion, * is the great Art and Study of those who aim at securing themselves an orthodox Reputation, at the Expence of Common Sense, and of all moral Truth and Righteousness. Now for what End did this Reverend Divine make, and publish his Confession of Faith? Was it not for the Satisfaction of the Ministers, for the Instruction of his People, and as a Sample of the Doctrine he was afterwards to preach to them? But in this Confession, he asserts the eternal Obligation of † supernatural Revelation, the Doctrine of the ‡ Trinity, the incomprehensible Procession of the Holy Ghost, and many other Articles of spiritual and supernatural Religion: And therefore, if his general Charge be true, doth he not himself force us to think, that all this was only the Art and Study of the honest Divine, aiming to secure himself an orthodox Reputation, at the Expence of Common Sense, and of all moral Truth and Righteousness. He would, I doubt not, think me unreasonably severe, should I attempt to charge him with such Hypocrisy and Dissimulation.*

But if he dislikes such a Conduct towards himself, why so much Severity towards others? Why should he censure and condemn the whole Christian Ministry, which he himself once solemnly asserted, was constituted by Christ to the Holy Work of dispensing his Word, as mysterious, wild Enthusiasts, and as sacrificing Common Sense, and all Moral Truth and Righteousness, be-

* Vol. II. Pref. p. 22.

† Art. 1st. ‡ 4th, 5th.

cause they instruct others in those Principles of supernatural Religion, which they believe, and which he formerly called Heaven and Earth to witness that he firmly believed? If he then acted a dishonest temporising Part, doth it follow that others have no more Honesty than himself? Or, if he really believed what he professed to believe, may not others be sincere in the Doctrines they preach, and preach the Doctrines of supernatural Revelation, because they think them of Importance to the Happiness and Salvation of their People? He, when a Dissenting Minister, could talk of the unchangeable Law of Nature, and the eternal Rule of Righteousness, and pronounce it to be unrepealable; and at the same Time allow, that the Divine Will might be made known by supernatural and positive Revelation, and that the Sacred Writings were the Infallible Word and Law of God to Man; and from these Writings, and this Infallible Law of God, could draw Articles of Faith, and with a solemn Air, pronounce his Belief even of Things which in the Manner of them he owned to be absolutely incomprehensible. And did he then see the Consistency of the Principles of supernatural Religion with Common Sense, Moral Truth and Righteousness? Could he then reconcile the unrepealable Law of Nature's being the fixed Rule of Duty, and Measure of moral good and evil of Actions, with the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament's being the Infallible Word and Law of God to Man? If he could not, with what Ease and Justice might his severest Charges be retorted on him? If he could, why may not others have as good a Discernment as he then had,

P R E F A C E. - xxiii

had, and think they can reconcile these Things in their own Minds and Consciences too? I should rejoice to see him give the World good Proofs of superiour Candour, Honesty, and Integrity to other Men.

*He complains grievously, that those who write against him, cannot * reason or argue without some Charge or other of Immorality, or moral Wickedness or Infidelity, which with great Freedom and Civility they bestow upon their Adversaries. This I allow to be a very high Charge, and that the Proof of it ought to be proportionably clear and strong. But sure 'tis with an ill Grace that any one makes this Complaint, who brings himself the most unreasonable and immoral Charges against the Living and Dead, and without any Mercy or Caution accuses them as guilty of the most scandalous and enormous Crimes. Let the Philosopher fairly prove, that Joseph made up the Matter with his Mistress; that Moses was not suffer'd to live in his Posterity, and that Samuel's Mother was debauched by the Sons of Eli. If he cannot, I am apprehensive the World will not call these Things by the softer Names of Mistakes and Oversights, but be ready, and that with too much Reason, to apply to him, some Part of that Rhetorick which he hath so plentifully bestowed on others.*

And as to the Accusation, of not telling openly what the Doctrines of immediate Revelation are, it hath, I think, no Shadow of Foundation. It hath been long my Opinion, that Divines of all Persuasions have rather been too abundant than defective in this

* Vol. II. Pref. p. 15.

Particular : And, except their refusing to enter into a Dispute with him should be thought a Proof of it, I know he cannot prove, that any of the Gentlemen, who have a Regard for the Doctrines of immediate Revelation, which he himself once called God and Man to witness that he believed, do upon any proper Occasions, refuse openly and honestly to tell what those Doctrines are. The Charge itself is without any Colour of Reason. Their Articles, their Confessions, their Catechisms, their Sermons, their Writings, are all full of them, nor can any Man that hath ever read any Thing at all possibly be ignorant of them. And therefore his Charges of Zeal in Appearance and Disguise, of Want of Honour and Integrity, of Cowardice and temporising Prudence, and the like, are on this Occasion very undeservedly bestowed, and will, I am persuaded, find little Credit with the impartial and intelligent World.

Such Charges are in their Nature so extreamly criminal, as that they should never be insinuated or brought, without the most substantial and demonstrative Evidence ; nor by any Person but he, whose Integrity sets him above all just Suspicion himself. I will not recriminate, but relate Facts, and leave the Judgment to God and Man, upon an impartial Comparison of the following Passages.

T. Morgan's Confession.

I Believe that God, foreseeing this general Fall of Man, in his infinite Wisdom and Goodness con-

Dr. Morgan.

AS to what the Divines have said about the Covenant of Redemption, I take it to be all
sulted,

sulted his Recovery; and to that End enter'd into
 * A COVENANT OF REDEMPTION *with his Son, in which Christ's Work is assigned, and his Reward ensured; and that in Consequence of this eternal Compact and Agreement between the Father and the Son, Jesus Christ assumed Flesh.* Articl. 13th, 14th.

MERE FORGERY, *and tho' it may be in their System, I COULD NEVER FIND IT IN THE BIBLE. The Truth is, the Systematical Divines have patch'd up this Covenant amongst themselves, without Consent of either of the Parties.*

Ans. to the Immorality of the Moral Philos. p. 35. Mor. Philos. Vol. I. p. 223.

The Divine, it seems, solemnly professed to believe what the Doctor could never find in the Bible; and what the former counted a Sacred Article of Faith, the latter always looked on as a Forgery. It would be hard to dispute a Man's own Testimony of himself. Again:

T. Morgan's Confession.

T. Morgan, Moral Philosopher.

I BELIEVE *that Christ by his perfect Obedience unto Death, compleated the Work of Man's Redemption, making such a Propitiation or Attainment for Sin, as most ef-*

THIS *no where said, or so much as intimated, that Christ died to dispose God to pardon Sin upon Repentance, or to make the Exercise of his Mercy fit and reasonable,*

XXVI P R E F A C E.

fectually answered the *against the contrary Demands of his Justice. This is all human Invention and not Scripture, and might rather be called RAVING than REASONING. I must frankly own to you, that I COULD NEVER UNDERSTAND the Doctrine of Satisfaction, viz. that God hath accepted the Death and Sacrifice of Christ as a satisfactory and valuable Consideration for his pardoning Sin upon Repentance, and that upon this Satisfaction given, he is at Liberty to exercise Mercy against all the contrary Claims of his Justice.*

I BELIEVE that Jesus Christ, having by the Merits of his expiatory Sacrifice, or Death on the Cross, FULLY SATISFIED THE DEMANDS of offended Justice; and having also merited and obtained of the Father an Act of Grace, or Indemnity, containing the full and free Pardon of Sin, did hereupon, as Lord Redeemer, constitute a Covenant of Grace, containing an universal conditional Grant of his purchased Benefits, Pardon and eternal Life, to all who by Repentance should put themselves under his Protection, and take the Benefit of that gracious full Pardon he purchased by his Blood. Articl. 14th, 16th.

Mor. Philos. Vol. I. p. 215, 222.

Whether the Divine did profess to believe what he never understood, and what he never found intimated in the Scripture, about Christ's fully satisfying the Demands

Demands of offended Justice, and meriting of the Father an Act of Grace for all who by Repentance should take the Benefit of this purchased Pardon; or whether the Philosopher knew the Divine to be, when making this Confession, in a Fit of Raving, or hath misrepresented him; are great Mysteries, quite past my Comprehension, and I must leave them to be settled and explained between themselves.

It would be easy to produce more Instances of the like Nature, to shew how intirely the Divine and Philosopher differ in their Religion from each other, and how the one denies and ridicules the very Principles that the other once professed he believed as the important Truths of God. I have no Objection to their differing from one another; but as they are so nearly related, and so closely united, as that one can scarce suffer in his Character, but the other must feel the Injury; methinks the Doctor should have treated the Divine with peculiar Tendernefs and Complaisance, and have been very cautious of denying, or seeming to deny, his ever understanding and believing what that Divine once declared he both understood and believed.

I have done, when I have added an humble Request to the foregoing Observations, viz. That, as the Philosopher will, I doubt not, declare himself an Enemy to all Persecution and Injustice, he will be so good as to reconcile the following most remarkable Passage with the Rules of Morality and Virtue; which, I confess, I am not able to do. As this may be owing to my want of Judgment, I the rather call in his Assistance. 'Tis relating

*lating to the Affair of the Benjamites. * If, says he, the High Priest himself was here the Oracle, as I verily believe he was, his engaging the whole Kingdom in so bloody and destructive a War, merely to revenge the Death of an infamous, eloped Levitical Whore, ought to have cost the Lives of all the Priests in Israel with him, as their Director and Head, even tho' there had been 40,000 more of them. I make no Remarks on the Politeness of the Style, but only observe, that he expressly imputes this whole Management to the Priest, the High Priest, and doth not, as I can find, so much as intimate, that the Body of Priests were confederate with him; and yet doth not scruple to doom 40,000 innocent Persons to an universal Carnage, merely for the Crime of one Man, without so much as suggesting, that they were Partakers in his Guilt. I can make no Reflections upon such a Passage as this; but only observe to my Reader, that whereas the Philosopher bitterly complains of the Cruelty that was exercis'd on this Occasion, and of the Rage and Malice of the High Priest, whom he represents as the sole Author of it; yet that he doth not himself seem quite satiated with the Blood that was spilt, but thinks the Destruction of 40,000 more, and those innocent Persons, merely because they had the Name of Priests, was necessary to enliven and finish the Tragedy. If this be his real Sentiment, his Philosophy is of a very extraordinary Kind; and all I can do, is to wish him a much better Spirit, and to recommend him to the*

* Ans. to the Immoral. of the Moral Phil. p. 19.

Christian World, as an Object of their great Compassion and warmest Prayers.

I am extremely sorry, that I have had Occasion for any of these personal Reflections in a Controversy about Religion, which should, I think, be managed with the greatest Candour, Decency and Good-Manners. Nor should I have in the least complained, had this Philosopher urged his Objections against the Christian and Jewish Revelations, with all the Strength and Force of Reason that he had been Master of. I still think, as much as ever I did, that every Man hath a Right to propose his Objections in all Matters of Importance, publicly to the World, without any Censure of the Civil Magistrate, or being branded with any Terms of Reproach and Infamy for doing it. Truth can never suffer by the most rigid Inquiry, nor can it be any Prejudice to real Religion to be searched, even to the Bottom. But surely, there is a Reverence due to the Persons of the Wise and Good, and a Tenderness owing to the very Prejudices of others; there is a Modesty and Diffidence of ones self, that should appear in fallible Men, who set themselves up in Opposition to all others; there is an high Respect that ought to be maintained for the Characters of the Living and Dead; there are Suppositions of Charity to be made in Favour of those who differ from us: Principles, in which the greatest and best of Men have agreed, and which are at least supposed to be founded in Divine Revelation, should be debated with Moderation and good Humour; and when opposed, opposed with the strictest Regard to Truth and Honour. Controversies in Religion, thus managed, would be the most agreeable.

xxx P R E F A C E.

agreeable Entertainment, tend to the Discovery of Truth, the clearing up Mistakes, the Removal of Prejudices, and the Confirmation of every Thing that is truly sacred and good.

*And surely, a Moral Philosopher should have, of all other Men, kept within these Bounds, and been peculiarly careful not to have transgressed the Rules of Morality, even for the Sake of Moral Truth and Righteousness. But our Philosopher thought, that the softer and gentler Medicines would not effectually remove the Malignity of the Distemper he imagines we labour under; and therefore as universal Doctor, and the infallible Curer of all manner of Jewish, Christian and Clerical Diseases, he is of Opinion, that bleeding, Caustics, Blisters, and other rough and violent Methods, are the only proper and sovereign Remedies in our Disorder. For thus he expresses his Judgment: * I take the Lethargy to be so very deep, and the Case so extremely dangerous, that I think the sharpest and roughest Methods to be no more than necessary to a Cure; and if you should imagine the Method to be a little too severe, you must not blame me.*

Curentur dubii medicis majoribus ægri!

But as I am apprehensive that the Patients, for whom he prescribes, will in general dislike his Physick, as too hot and violent, and be apt to imagine that he hath quite mistaken their Case: I have myself one Reason, that appears to me a very substantial one, against allowing his Pretensions to be chief spiritual Physician

* Vol. I. p. 113.

*to these Kingdoms; drawn from an excellent Maxim of his own. He tells us: * This is a necessary Rule or Principle of human Prudence, which every Man ought to lay down to himself, and act upon; not to regard, or be determined by any Set of Professors or Teachers in any Thing, concerning which they cannot agree amongst themselves. If this be so necessary a Rule of human Prudence, as the learned Doctor hath here magisterially determined, it must be an equally, yea, a much more necessary Rule of human Prudence, never to regard, nor in any Thing to be determined by any particular Teacher or Professor, when he cannot agree with himself. And therefore, as our Doctor, in his double Capacity of Priest and Philosopher, differs from himself, and broaches the most essentially opposite and contradictory Principles, he hath fairly discharg'd all the prudent Part of Mankind from paying him any Regard in any Character, and hath condemned himself, by the oracular Judgment of his own Mouth, to be regarded by none but those, who are destitute of all Prudence and Understanding.*

* Vol. III. p. 146.

CONTENTS.

S E C T. I.

O*F Abram's Call out of Mesopotamia, and
Descent into Egypt.* p. 11

S E C T. II.

*Of the original Name of the Land of Canaan, and the
Nature of the Country.* p. 19

S E C T. III.

Of Abram's Denial of his Wife in Egypt. p. 52

S E C T. IV.

*Of the Promises made by God to Abram of the Land of
Canaan.* p. 70

S E C T. V.

*Of the original Design of the Patriarchs to settle in
Canaan.* p. 109

S E C T. VI.

Of the various Appearances of God to Abraham. p. 128

S E C T. VII.

Of Abraham's offering up his Son. p. 145

S E C T. VIII.

Of the Hebrew Idiom and Phraseology. p. 239

E R R A T A.

FOR *Egypt* read *Canaan*, Page 63. Line 10.
*There are several literal Mistakes, which the
Reader is desired to correct.*

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Old Testament, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

MORAL Philosophy implies the Love and Pursuit of *moral Truth and Wisdom*, or that Truth and Wisdom that relate to the due Regulation and Government of the Actions and Conduct of human Life. To be a *moral Philosopher*, in this Sense, is unquestionably a very great and excellent Character, what every Man who values the Honour and Happiness of his own Being ought to be

B

ambitious

ambitious of, and what every honest and good Man is by fixed Principle and constant Endeavour. Philosophers of this Kind, some at least, I was in good Hopes the *Christian World* might be allowed to have produced, especially amongst those many learned Men, whose Studies have led them peculiarly to Inquiries of this Kind, and who have so many of them wrote professedly on this important Subject.

But it seems we are all mistaken, and have in these last Ages of the World a new Light arisen up in the midst of us, that shines brighter than *Moses* and *Jesus* themselves; who, not content with calling them to an Account for their Doctrines, Conduct and Miracles, boldly condemns the former as a *Conjuror and Impostor*, and shrewdly insinuates, that the latter was * a *spurious and adulterous Birth*; and that he is greatly inclin'd absolutely to reject the Account of his Resurrection † as *wild and chimerical*; and that if five hundred Persons, of otherwise the best Credit, were to assert it, it would not make it credible, because it would be still more probable that they might have been some way or other deceived. If, in Vindication of *Moses* and *Jesus*, the Writings, which contain their respective Histories, should be appealed to, his Answer is ready, viz. ‡ That no Book or Writing can prove it self, and ought not to be admitted upon its own Authority, against the plainest Marks and Appearances of Fraud, Artifice and Deception; and that

*if this be not admitted, it must be impossible to detect or set aside any Scheme of Imposture, Superstition, or false Religion in the World, which pretends to Revelation and Divine Authority, i. e. The Jewish and Christian Writings have the plainest Marks and Appearances of Fraud, Artifice and Deception, and therefore they cannot prove themselves, and ought not to be admitted upon their own Authority. And this is the great Point which our Moral Philosopher hath in View throughout his Three Volumes, and which by repeated Assertions, and innumerable Misrepresentations he hath continually laboured to prove, and to persuade his Reader into the Belief of. And as for the Gentlemen * who take it for granted without Proof, that the Jewish Government was a Theocracy, and suppose that the Law of Moses was received immediately from the Mouth of Jehovah himself, no Difficulties can afterwards stand in their Way: The plainest Marks and Appearances in the World of Design, Artifice and Imposture, such as must overthrow and set aside the like Pretensions in any other Government, cannot be of the least Force or Consequence against this Theocracy. If this should be above any Man's Comprehension, and beyond the utmost Stretch of his Faith, or Capacity of his Assent, yet, according to these learned Persons, that Man can be no Christian. Yea, such is their obstinate Bigottry, that they entrench themselves under impregnable Darknes, and go on with in-*

* Page 3. 4.

vincible Resolution to batter and destroy all moral Reason and Philosophy. How great is the *Modesty* with which this Moral Philosopher introduces his Scheme, and how *polite the Compliment* he passes on the whole Christian World! All the learned Gentlemen in it, that are not of his Mind about the *Jewish Constitution*, *entrench themselves under impregnable Darknes*; and what is worse, are united in one common Design, *to batter with invincible Resolution, and destroy all moral Reason and Philosophy!* But he, good Man, with a clear Head and a pure Heart, free from Bigottry, Superstition and Fraud, is surrounded with clear and piercing Light: His *Artillery* is only levelled against Artifice and Imposture, and he is the only Person in the present Age and Nation, who is *to fight the Battles of the Lord*, and to support *moral Truth and Righteousness*, in Opposition to *Moses, Zoroaster, Mahomet*, and the original Apostles of Jesus Christ. He writes neither *for Bread nor Profit*. The Monsters of Priestcraft, Bigottry and Superstition, are the Objects of his mortal Hatred. *Moral Philosophy* is the Mistress of his Affections, and he'll enter the List with all Mankind that shall be so hardy as to dispute with her *the Prize of Beauty*.

This learned and *renowned Philosopher* clears his Way to Victory and Triumph over all his Adversaries, by putting the Armies of *Israel* to Flight, with * *the Plagues of Leprosy, Scabs and*

Lice, with which they had infested the Egyptians. Pardon me, gentle Reader, 'tis the Philosopher's *cleanly Language*, and not mine. He traces them up from their very Original, follows them into *Egypt*, pursues them throughout all their Treachery and Violence, in ruining and enslaving the *Egyptian* Nation ; spreads them over that large and populous Kingdom, puts them into Possession of its whole military Force, bestows on them all the chief Places of Power and Profit, introduces them into all its Fortresses and strong Holds ; in an Instant dispossesses them again, collects them insensibly into *Goshen*, where they were originally placed, there brings their Throats to the very Point of the Sword, delivers them from it by the most surprising natural Compassion of the *Egyptians*, whom they had absolutely ruin'd, enslaved, and stript of all Property, even in Money, Goods and Liberty, and made perpetual Vassals to the Crown ; carries them miraculously thro' the Red Sea, and at last by the most bloody Wars, and unnatural Cruelties, gives them a small Settlement in the Land of *Canaan*. It will be worth our while to pursue this philosophical Historian throughout the whole Account he hath given of these surprising Events, that we may be able to form some just Account of his Fidelity, Integrity, remarkable Candor, and Love of Truth. His Method is indeed a little intricate and involved, and which therefore, with his Leave, I shall take the Liberty a little to vary from, and consider Things in the

Order

Order in which they are represented to us, in the Writings of the Old Testament ; especially as he himself * assures us, that *he will take his Account from the Hebrew Historians themselves, as they have it in their own Books.* How well he hath performed this Promise, will soon appear to the Reader with the fullest Conviction.

C H A P. I.

The moral Philosopher's Account of the History of Abraham, consider'd.

IT must be owned, in Justice to this Gentleman, that he hath now and then bestowed some Compliments upon this ancient Patriarch, and given, in particular, a tolerable Account of his Religion, Virtue and Moderation. He seems to represent him, together with *Isaac* and *Jaacob*, as he very *Hyperorthographically* writes him, † as *most ancient and holy Men, who lengthened out their Days beyond the common Course of Nature, by a strict Virtue, Temperance, and an active, laborious Life ; and commends their ‡ great Piety, their intire Dependance upon God, as their Father, Preserver, Informer and Director ; and their strict Regard to all the Dispensations of his Providence towards them, in the whole Course of their Lives.* How

* Page 6. † Page 94. ‡ Page 96.

venerable and sacred the Character he allows them ! How worthy of Honour and Reverence their Names and Memories ! And yet, this same *Abram*, this *most holy Patriarch*, whose Virtue was thus strict, and whose Piety was thus confessedly great, shall not escape the Censure of this Moral Philosopher. Tho' he had his intire Dependance upon God as his Preserver and Director, and a strict Regard to the Dispensations of his Providence, * *in the whole Course of his Life*, yet so fond was this *Patriarch of Egypt*, so well persuaded that this was the Country God had given him, that he was ready to prostitute his own Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity, to secure himself a Settlement there. † Yea, notwithstanding his intire Dependance upon God, the Patriarch acted by *Craft and Design*, whilst the King of *Egypt* was a Man of *strict Virtue, Honour and Clemency*. How full of surprising Contrast is this Character of the Patriarch, in which strict Piety, and a Readiness to prostitute his own Wife ; a Regard to, and intire Dependance upon God, and the meanest, lowest Craft and Design, could thus unite and be consistent. Surely, our Philosopher must have the *Magick Wand* of *Moses* himself, or have some peculiarly philosophical Notions of strict Piety, to reconcile these difficult Appearances, and bring them within the Reach ‡ of any Man's Comprehension, the Stretch of his Faith, or the Capacity of his Assent.

* Page 26. † Page 27. ‡ Page 4.

In like Manner, *Abraham's Moderation* and Contentment were as remarkable as his *Piety*, and strict Regard to Providence. He was indeed, as our Philosopher gloriously paints him out, a potent, mighty Prince, at the Head of a powerful Army, and * *might easily have conquered the whole Land of Canaan, and driven out all the former Inhabitants then settled in the Country, had he thought fit; for he had a Force superior to any, or all of them.* How agreeable this Account is with Truth and History we will enquire afterwards. But we will now suppose it exactly true, and quite free from Fiction and Romance. And how illustrious an Instance doth this give us of Moderation and Equity in this venerable Patriarch! Tho' he had a Force superior to any, or all of the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, yet he was content with what Providence allotted him, and with the lawful Fruits of his own Labour and Industry; and what is extremely surprising, † *laid no Schemes for enriching and aggrandizing himself, by invading other Mens Property, and by the Conquest, Devastation and Plunder of other Countries and Nations. He sought only a peaceable Settlement where Providence should cast him.* How kind and generous is this Concession in the Patriarch's Favour! How truly philosophical a Love of Truth is discovered in this Representation! And yet, this very Patriarch, who only sought a Settlement where Providence should cast him, did, we

* Page 94. † Ibid.

are told, * endeavour to secure himself a Settlement in *Egypt* by Craft and Design, and by a villainous *Readiness* to prostitute his Wife to the *Egyptian* King. What doth our Moral Philosopher think that Providence thus led him to an *Egyptian* Settlement? And notwithstanding all his seeming Moderation in not attempting the Conquest of *Canaan*, and desiring only a peaceable Settlement; yet when we know the true Reason of this Conduct in *Abram*, as our Author hath given it, that Conduct will appear not Moderation, and a Love of Equity, but somewhat of a very different and contrary Nature. For we are told, that † *when Abram came first into Palestine, he found it a very barren desert Country, but little inhabited, and very subject to Drought and Scarcity.* ‡ *The inland Parts of it had not been cultivated, or possessed, lying open and desert.* From whence 'tis plain that these Hebrew Clans of strolling Shepherds and Herdsmen, waited for a more favourable Opportunity, till Providence should direct them to some Country or other, where Towns and Cities had been built, the Lands cultivated for them, and all the Conveniencies of Life ready provided to their Hands, without any Labour, and without any natural Right or Title of their own; whereas *Canaan* was a Land not worth conquering, purchasing, or possessing. So that all this peaceable Disposition of the Patriarch, with respect to *Canaan*, was, now the Philosopher hath unravelled

* Page 26, 27.

† Page 25, 26.

‡ Page 30.

the Secret, only the Effect of Idleness and Sloath ; he wanted a Country ready cultivated to his Hands, without any Labour of his own ; or else it proceeded from Contempt of the Land of *Canaan* ; it was not worth conquering, purchasing, or possessing. And tho' he laid no Schemes for enriching and aggrandizing himself, by invading other Mens Properties, and the Conquest of other Nations ; yet, it seems, he had laid such a Scheme for aggrandizing himself by other Methods, and waited a favourable Opportunity, till Providence should direct him to some Country or other, where Towns and Cities had been built, the Lands cultivated, and all the Conveniences of Life were ready provided to his Hands, without natural Right or Title. *And this happened at last by a very lucky Incident, which brought Abraham's Family into a rich and plentiful Country, and made them, as he is pleased to assure us, the Lords and Masters of it.* Could this be as fully proved, as 'tis roundly and confidently asserted, the Philosopher should have had my heartiest Thanks, and fullest Concurrence. But his Character yet is not so great in the World, as that his mere Assertions should pass for Proofs, his own Fictions for uncontested Facts, nor his ignorant or wilful Misrepresentations, for genuine and authentick History.

S E C T.

S E C T. I.

*Of Abram's Call out of Mesopotamia, and
Descent into Egypt.*

AFTER having given us his Account of the Settlement of the *Hebrews* in the Land of *Egypt*, the Philosopher tells us, * *that it seems very plain, that Abram himself, the Father of this Hebrew Shepherd Nation, had no original Design of settling in Palestine, but rather aimed at Egypt: † That God, when he called him out of Mesopotamia, had promised him a rich and plentiful Country, and as God had not yet named the Country where Abram and his Posterity should settle, Egypt might seem the most promising Place, which was then the richest and most plentiful Kingdom in the World.* The same he asserts again: ‡ *By the Hebrew Historian's own Account, when Abram came from Mesopotamia North-Eastward, tho' God had promised him a Country, yet he did not know what Country, whether Egypt, Canaan, or any other.* And again: || *This is plain that as soon as Abram came so far as Palestine, and found a barren, desert Country, he could not think this the Place designed him, and therefore he went down, with his whole Substance and Patriarchy into Egypt, with a Design to settle there, as presuming*

* Page 25. † Page 26. ‡ Page 29. || Page 88.

that

that must be the promised Land; * but being driven out of it, he found this was not the Country God had designed him, and so goes back again into Canaan.

I should have had no Objection to this Author's Account, had he only said, that when God called him out of *Mesopotamia*, God did not at first name the Country where he and his Posterity were to settle. This would have been, in some respect, true; but then 'twould not have answered his Purpose, *viz.* to shew that *Abram* originally aimed at *Egypt*; and therefore he asserts, that when he came into *Palestine*, he could not think that the Place designed him, and therefore went down into *Egypt* with a Design to settle there, as presuming that must be the promised Land; that is, he did not know, and had no especial Promise from God of the Land of *Canaan*, till after his going down to *Egypt*, and Return from it. But

The particular Things which the Philosopher here asserts, are these:

1. That God promised him a rich and fertile Country, without naming it; and that therefore *Abram* thought *Egypt* the most promising Place.

2. That as *Abram* could not think *Palestine* the Place design'd him, therefore he went down to *Egypt*, as presuming that must be the promised Land.

3. That he went down into *Egypt* with a Design to settle there. And

4. That he found *Egypt* was not the Country God designed him by being driven out of it.

And I hope the Reader will carefully observe the positive, repeated Assertions of this Philosopher, in reference to these Points, and his frequent Appeals to the *Hebrew* Writers, as tho' they had, in the most express Manner, delivered all these Things as unquestionable Facts, that would admit of no Debate. Thus he tells us, * *this is plain from Gen. xii.* † And that *this appears by the Hebrew Historian's own Account* : And that the Reader will find this whole Story, as I have represented it, in Gen. xii. Would one, after all this, expect to find, that Gen. xii. should prove the direct contrary to all this, and that the *Hebrew* Historian positively and expressly, in the plainest Words, confronts this Philosopher's Account ? His Veracity to mine upon the Proof.

1. First then I say 'tis not true, what this Philosopher again and again asserts, *That God promised Abram a rich and fertile Country, without naming it, and that therefore Abram thought Egypt the most promising Place, and therefore went down into it.* For the † *Hebrew* Historian remarks, that Terah took Abram his Son, and Lot and Sarai, and they went forth from Uz of the Chaldees, to go into the Land of Canaan. And the Reason of this was, because

* Page 29. † Page 26, 27. ‡ Gen. xi. 31.

*the Lord had said unto Abram, get thee out of thy Country unto a Land that I will shew thee.** So that *Abram* both left his own Country, and travelled into another, even into *Canaan*, by divine Direction ; and under this Direction 'tis farther remarked, *that Abram, Sarai and Lot went forth to go into the Land of Canaan, and into the Land of Canaan they came. †* And *Abram* passed thro' the Land into the Place of *Sichem*, unto the Plain of *Moreh*, and the *Canaanite* was then in the Land. And the Lord appeared unto *Abram*, and said, *Unto thy Seed WILL I GIVE THIS LAND. ‡* After which is the History of *Abram's* going down into *Egypt*. The Reader will remark on this Account, that when *Abram* went out from his native Country, he went forth to go into the Land of *Canaan* ; this was the Country that God shewed him, the Country therefore he immediately and originally intended to go to ; that accordingly he came directly into it, and that when he was arrived there, God appeared to him, and actually gave the Promise and Grant of it to his Posterity, before ever he went into *Egypt*, or probably so much as thought of it : For he first went from *Moreh* to the east of *Bethel*, and travell'd on farther to the Southward, where he stay'd till there arose a Famine in the Land ; circumstances which seem to require some Length and Distance of Time. But whether longer or shorter, the Philosopher's Insinuation cannot be true, that

* Gen. xii. 1. † Gen. xii. 5, 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. Ver. 10.

God did not name the Country where *Abram* and his Posterity should settle, till after his going into *Egypt*, * and being driven out of it again by the *Egyptian* King. And this false Representation is the more inexcusable, because he twice quotes the very Chapter, in which the Passages are that I have cited.

As far as appears from the original Historian, God said nothing about the Richness and Plentifulness of the Country that was to be given him; but only: † *Get thee out of thy Country, into a Land that I will shew thee, and I will make of thee a great Nation*; and therefore tho', when ‡ *called to go out into a Place which he shou'd after receive for an Inheritance*, he obeyed, not knowing whether he went, viz. to receive the Inheritance promised him; yet the very Command to leave his own Country must necessarily be supposed attended with an Order which Way to bend his Course; otherwise 'twould have been a Command that could not have been executed, as it would have left *Abram* at an absolute Uncertainty where to have gone. And therefore 'tis particularly remark'd, that God said to him: *Get thee to a Land which I will shew thee*. And this Land must have been *Canaan*, because he directly went there, and which he received the Promise of immediately upon, or soon after his Arrival there, long before his going down into *Egypt*; without a Word about the Fertility of it, which our Philosopher thrusts

* Page 27.

† Gen. xii. 1, 2.

‡ Heb. xi. 8.

into God's Promise, with no other Design that I can see, but to give some Probability of Truth to a Fiction of his own about *Egypt*, contrary to the whole Narration of the *Hebrew Historian*.

2. 'Tis equally untrue, when he asserts, *that Abram went down into Egypt, as presuming that must be the promised Land*. For before this Journey into *Egypt*, God expressly told *Abram*, that *Canaan*, and not *Egypt*, was the promised Land; and therefore he did not, could not go into *Egypt*, as presuming that *Egypt* was the promised Land; unless he presumed upon a Land as promised, that was never promised him, and presumed that not to be the Land, which was expressly promised him.

3. Hence, with equal Regard to Truth and the History, he asserts, * *that Abram went into Egypt with a Design to settle there*. This, he says, *is evident*. But from whence is it evident? From the Account of *Moses*, or the Nature of the Thing? Not from the Account of *Moses*, who gives a quite different Reason of his going down into *Egypt*. † *There was a Famine in the Land, and Abram went down into Egypt, ‡ because the Famine was grievous in the Land, viz. of Canaan*. So that he left *Canaan*, not because he was ignorant that this was the Country promised him, but by un-

* Page 26, 88. † Gen. xii. 10.

‡ כי כבר רעב. For, or rather, *because the Famine was grievous in the Land*.

voidable Necessity; not with a Design to settle there, but only * *to sojourn there*. Abram *went down into Egypt to sojourn there*, viz. till the Famine that occasioned his going there should be removed. Nor is there any one Circumstance in the Reason of the Thing that can lead any one to imagine, that he went to settle there. For how could he entertain any such Design, when God had expressly told him that his Settlement should be in *Canaan*? Did he design to settle there in Contempt of God's Promise to him, that he should settle in a quite different Country? Was this the Proof of that † *strict Regard to all the Dispensations of God's Providence*, which the Philosopher tells us this Holy Patriarch *shewed in the whole Course of his Life*?

4. 'Tis with the same sacred Attachment to Truth and Fact, that he insinuates, or rather asserts that Abram *found Egypt* ‡ *not to be the Country God had designed for him, by his being driven out of it by the Egyptian King*, and that he hereby || *saw his Mistake and Disappointment*. For how could he mistake as to the Country assigned him, when he absolutely knew from God himself that 'twas *Canaan*? Or how could he be disappointed in not being allow'd to settle in *Egypt*, when God told him, in the plainest Terms, that he should be settled in a quite different Country, and when he never went down to settle, but only to *sojourn* there? The Reader

* Ibid. † Vol. 3. Pag. 96. ‡ Pag. 27. || Pag. 88.

will observe that this whole Account of the Philosopher is directly contrary to that given by the Historian he professes to take it from, and that he hath given it with *his Eyes open*, and the History before him.

But there is one more Particular, which I must take Notice of, before I dismiss this Head. He tells us that * *this Appearance of God to Abram mentioned Gen. xii. is the first Instance of the supream God or Jehovah appearing and conversing with Men*. But this is not true. For we read † of *Jehovah* frequently conversing with *Adam*, putting him into the Garden, giving him the Law of Food, ‡ bringing the Beasts and Fowls to him for Names, bringing the Woman to him for his Wife, examining, judging and condemning him and her after their Transgression, *from whose Presence* both he and she endeavoured to *hide themselves amongst the Trees of the Garden*. God is also represented as conversing with, judging and pronouncing the deserved Curse on || *Cain*, who is expressly said *to go out from the Presence of Jehovah*. Long after this *Jehovah* is declared to converse with *Noah*; and in all these Converses of *Jehovah* with Men, 'tis highly probable, there was an Appearance of that Glory, which the *Jews* call *Shechinah*, or the divine Habitation; and I think 'tis little less than certain, that there was some very glorious Appearance of the divine Presence, or Majesty to our first

* Pag. 88. † Gen. Chap. ii. ‡ Chap. iii. || Chap. 4.
Parents,

Parents, from the very Nature of the Things transacted between God and them, and from the remarkable Expression, of their *hiding themselves from the Presence of the Lord*. But tho' the Manner may be uncertain, yet the History expressly contradicts the Philosopher's Assertion, viz. that in *Gen. xii.* we have the first Instance of *Jehovah* appearing and conversing with Men.

S E C T. II.

Of the Original Name of the Land of Canaan, and the Nature of the Country.

FROM so bad a Beginning of the History of the *Hebrew* Nation, one would be apt to suspect not much greater Care in the Sequel; and I am sorry that I am forced to say, he hath too uniformly maintain'd his *moral Character*, as a Writer, throughout. This will farther appear from his Account of the Land of *Canaan*. He says: * *When Abram came first into Palestine, he found it a very barren desert Country, but little inhabited, and very subject to Drought and Scarcity.* And again: † *This Land of Palestine or Philistia, for that was the original Name of it, was now in a Manner open and uninhabited, as to the inland, mountainous Parts of it, and the Plains of Jordan, which lay*

* Vol. 3. Pag. 25.

† Pag. 27.

next to Arabia; and the Land is called Canaan, because that was afterwards the Name of it, when the Canaanites came to settle there. * Moses might call it Canaan, because the Canaanites had been settled there, and had well peopled and cultivated the Country. Those Observations are several Times afterwards repeated, and particularly he tells us: † That whilst Joseph kept his Interest at the Egyptian Court, the Canaanites were not yet settled in the Land, but the inland mountainous Parts of the Country lay wast and uncultivated, and were not worth conquering. I presume these Remarks about the Badness of this Country are so frequently repeated, for the Sake of the Inference he draws from them: That Palestine ‡ seemed a very unlikely Place, for the Accomplishment of the Promise of God, to give him a rich and plentiful Country; an Observation he takes care his Reader shall not forget, by refreshing his Memory with it once and again. But 'twill not be amiss to point out the Particulars contain'd in these Accounts. As

1. He asserts that the original Name of the Land of Canaan was *Philistia*.

2. That it was afterwards called *Canaan* by Moses, when the *Canaanites* came to settle there.

3. That whilst Joseph kept his Interest at the Court of Egypt, the *Canaanites* were not yet settled in that Land.

4. That when *Abram* first came into it, and even so long after as the Time of Joseph, Pa-

* Pag. 236.

† Pag. 24, 25.

‡ Pag. 26.

Iestine was a very barren desert Country, but little inhabited, very subject to Drought and Scarcity, and the inland mountainous Parts of it open, wast and uncultivated, and not worth possessing or conquering. And that therefore

5. *Palestine* seemed a very unlikely Place for the Accomplishment of God's Promise to him, to give him a rich and fertile Country.

1. He asserts that *the original Name of the Land of Canaan, was Palestine or Philistia, from the Philistines who first took Possession of it, and not Canaan.* And in this he is extremely positive, as tho' he were absolutely sure of his Point, and dealt in Demonstration. 'Tis some Objection against this Account, that almost all the learned Men who have ever spoken of this Subject, have been of an Opinion contrary to the Philosopher; the *Jewish* Paraphrasts, * *Josephus*, † *Philo*, almost all the Moderns of any Repute for Learning, and the Knowledge of Antiquity, ‡ *Bochart*, § *Marsham*, *Reland*, *Cumberland*, and many others that might be mentioned, who unanimously allow *Canaan* to be the original and most ancient Name of this Country, as a Thing beyond all reasonable Question or Dispute, and who I imagined had considered this Matter with equal Care and Impartiality as our Philosopher.

* Χαναανιός δε την νυν Ιουδαίαν καλεµενην οικησας, απ' αυτε Χαναανιαν προσηγορευσα. Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 6. §. 2.

† Την αποικιαν εσελλεν εις φοινικην κ' Συριαν την κοιλην, κ' Παλαιστινην, η τοτε προσηγορευετο Χαναανιων. Phil. de vit. Mos. p. 486.

‡ Geog. Sac. l. 4. c. 34.

§ Can. Chron. p. 233.

And unquestionably, the Land of *Canaan* is the original and constant Name by which 'tis spoken of in the *Hebrew* Historians, so called from *Canaan*, the youngest Son of *Ham*, whose Posterity first took Possession of, and settled in it; even as *Egypt* is called * *ארץ מצרים* *The Land of Mitsraim*, from another of *Ham*'s Sons, for the same Reason. After the Historian had recounted the Posterity of *Noah*'s three Sons, he adds: *These are the Families of the Sons of Noah, after their Generations in their Nations, and by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* And accordingly as † *Sidon*, *Heth*, *Jebusi*, *Emori* and *Girgasi*, are expressly said to be the Sons of *Canaan*; so we actually find their Posterity, ‡ the *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Girgashites* and *Jebusites*, amongst the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan*. And that *Sidon* was situated in this Country, needs no manner of Proof. And that 'tis so called from this *Canaan*, is plain. For 'tis called *ארץ כנען* *The Land of Canaan*, i. e. the Land which *Canaan* and his Posterity possessed, and not *ארץ הכנעני* *The Land of the Canaanite*. Thus *Terah* || and *Abram*, and *Lot* went from *Uz*, to go into the Land of *Canaan*. And § into this Land of *Canaan*, *Abram* and *Lot* came. And this is almost its constant Name in the *Hebrew* Historians. Nor is it once called, as I can find, in the Old Testament Records, *the Land of the Canaanites*,

* Gen. xiii. 10, &c. Gen. x. 32. † Gen. x. 15, 16.
‡ Gen. xv. 20, 21. || Gen. xi. 31. § Gen. xii. 5.

except

except where it denotes *the whole Country*, as possessed by the Posterity of *Canaan* in general, and not by the particular People called *Canaanites*; or where the Names of the other Nations are added to them. * *Thou madest a Covenant with him to give him the Land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, and Girgashites*; and from such Places as these, our Philosopher may prove, if he thinks proper, that the Country was neither called originally *Canaan*, or *Palestine*, but *Hittina*, *Amoritina*, or any other of these Names this incomparable Critick likes best.

'Tis true, the Name *Canaan*, or *Cananæa*, is seldom to be met with in *Greek* Authors. But the Origin of Nations is not to be derived from them, who are too late and fabulous to be depended on in these Matters. However, there are not wanting some Footsteps of this ancient original Name, even amongst them. In † *Sanchoniatho's* Fragment, preserved by *Eusebius*, *Ifiris* is called *the Brother of CHNAA*, and said to be *the first Phenician*; where *Chnaa* is undoubtedly *Canaan*, which *Hebrew* Word may be as well pronounced *Cnaan*, the *Sheva* under צ being rather for accelerating the Pronunciation, than designed to form a distinct Syllable in speaking. † *Eupolemus* also, cited by *Alexander*

* Exod. iii. 9.

† *Ισιρις, αδελφος χνα, το πρωτε μετονομαθεντος φοινικος.*
Præpar. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39.

‡ *Βαβυλωνιους γαρ λεγειν πρωτον γενεσθαι Βηλον, ου ειναι Κρονον· εκ τωτε δε γενεσθαι Βηλον, κ' χανααν· τωτον δε τον χανααν γεννησαι τον πατερα των φοινικων.* Præpar. l. 9. c. 17. p. 419.

Polyhistor,

Polykistor, and from him by *Eusebius*, tells us: That *the* Babylonians affirm, that *the* first Belus, who is Saturn, was the Father of Belus and Chanaan, and that *this* Chanaan begot the Father of the Phenicians; who, according to *Moses*, was *Sidon*. † *Nicholaus Damascenus*, *Histor.* l. 4. cited by *Josephus*, tells us, that Abraham departed from Damascus into the Country that was then called Canaan, now Judæa. § *Stephanus Byzantinus* also hath preserved this original Name. Chnaa, so is Phenicia called, and the national Name is, Chnai. As therefore the Country and the Man have the same Name, as Canaan was the Father of the Phenicians, and his Posterity were called *Canaanites*, who inhabited it after him, Canaan must have been its original Name; and the *Canaanites*, his Posterity, must have been called so after him. And thus 'tis almost perpetually called by the Hebrew Writers, the most antient Authors in the World.

But the learned Philosopher thinks otherwise. Philistia, he says, was the original Name of it. But he should have proved it, as well as said it. I think, on the contrary, this is not at all probable, because the *Philistines* were not the original, and most antient Inhabitants of this Coun-

* Χνα· Οὕτως ἡ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο· τὸ δὲ ἐθνικὸν ταύτης, χναοί.
In voce.

† Αβραμης—μετ' ἑπολίον χρόνον ἐξαναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας συν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ, εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν χαναναίαν λεγομένην, νυν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, μετώκησε. *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 1. c. 7. fine.

try, nor ever possessed but a small Part of it: They were not so much as the Posterity of *Canaan*, the youngest Son of *Ham*, but of *Mizraim* his second Son, the Father and Founder of the *Egyptians*. * *Mizraim*, says the *Hebrew* Historian, begot *Cafluhim*, out of whom came *Philistim*. And as the *Philistines* are elsewhere said to † come from the *Caphtorim*; the *Caflubim* and *Caphtorim* must have joined together in the same Settlement. Their Country was *the Isle of Caphtor*, from whence came the *Philistines*. ‡ *Have I not brought the Philistines from Caphtor?* And they are therefore expressly called, || *The Remnant of & the Isle of Caphtor*, or that was possessed by *Caphtor* and his Posterity. Now 'tis well known that the Posterity of *Mizraim* inhabited *Egypt*, and that therefore *the Isle of Caphtor* must have been in that Country; and its being called *an Isle* directs to the Situation of it. And as the *Philistines* came out of this Isle into *Canaan*, it must have been an Isle in *Egypt*, near to the Land of *Canaan*, the better to favour and secure their Escape into it; and therefore I think must have been that Isle, formed by the two different Divisions of the *Nile*, in which the antient *Sin*, *Tin*

* Gen. x. 14.

† Ex Scriptura constet, conjunctos fuisse populos, quia modo ad hos, modo ad illos refertur origo Philistæorum. Bochart. Geog. l. 4. c. 32. p. 292.

‡ Amos ix. 7.

|| Jerem. xlvii. 4.

§ אִי כַפְתּוֹר Thus the *Vulgar Latin*, the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and *Syriack Version* render, what in our Translation is *the Country of Caphtor*; tho' they have put *Isle* in the Margin.

or *Pelufium* was built, which was by the *Tanitick Ostium*, or Mouth of the Nile. And that the *Philistines* came originally from hence, seems plain enough from the very Name, פלשתים *Pelishtim*, from פלש *Pelufum*, and this from פלש *Palash*, which in *Hipbil* signifies *to roll*, or besmear, *with Dirt and Askes*; agreeable to its other Name טין, *Tin*, which in the *Chaldee* signifies, *Dirt or Mud*; and both which well describe its fenny or muddy Situation. Thus **Strabo* describes it: *Between the Tanitick and Pelufiac Mouths, there are Lakes and great Fens adjoining to each other. The City also of Pelufium is encompassed with Fens or Lakes. It hath its Names from the Fens about it, and Mud, which the Greeks call πηλος Pelosh*; a Word which comes unquestionably from the *Phenician*, or *Hebrew* פלש, *Palash*. This Account is confirmed by the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Shaw*, in his Travels, † who says: *That all that Portion particularly, which lies betwixt Tineh, the antient Pelufium, and the Branch of Damiat, is exceeding low, and full of Lakes and Morasses, agreeing so far, even to this Day, with the Etymology of the Name. And that Philistia, or Palestine, is derived from Pelufium, is confirmed*

* Μεταξύ δε τε Τανικκς κ' τε Πηλυσιακς λιμναι, κ' ελη μεγαλα κ' συνεχη—κ' αυτο δε το Πελυσιον κυκλω περικεμενα εχει ελη—κ' τελματα—ονομασαι δε απο τε πηλς κ' των τελματων. Strab. l. 17. p. 1154, 1155. Edit. Amstel.

† Page 336. Chap. 2.

by a remarkable Passage in * *Plutarch*, who says : That Melcander's Son was according to some called Palæstinus, or Pelusius, and that the City bearing his Name, viz. Pelusium, was built by the Goddess Isis : According to which Account, Palæstinus and Pelusius, are Names of the same Import, and both relate to the Egyptian City Pelusium. And 'tis very probable, that 'tis on this Account of the *Philistines* being Egyptians by Original, that they are called by the LXX Interpreters, *Foreigners*. † The five Satrapies of the *Foreigners*, in the Hebrew, The five Lords of the *Philistines* ; to denote they were not the original Inhabitants of this Country. From all these Passages 'tis evident, that the *Caphthorim* and *Philistim* were the same People, or rather that the *Philistim* were the Remnant שְׁאֵרִית, the Word generally denotes, the Remains of a People saved from Destruction ; the Remains of the *Caphthorim*, who had escaped some very signal Calamity, and who having been forced to leave their own Country, procured themselves a new Settlement in the neighbouring Land of *Canaan* ; where they either took themselves, or received from the Inhabitants of the Country where they came, the Name פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Pelistim*, from *Pelusium*, the City from whence they made their Escape. And the Account of this very

* *Τινες δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα καλεῖσθαι Παλαιστίνον ἢ Πηλυσίον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπωνυμίον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, κτιθεῖσθαι ὑπο τῆς θεᾶς.* Plato de Is. et Osir. p. 357.

† Τας πέντε Σατράπιας τῶν Ἀλλοφύλων. Jud. iii. 3. & xvi. 5. Migration,

Migration, is, I think, happily preserved to us by *Moses* himself; who tells us: That *the Avim which dwelt in Hazerim even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of * Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their Stead.* The *Caphtorim, which came out of Caphtor*, in this Place, are *Jeremiah's Remnant of Caphtor*, and the *Avim*, which they destroyed, and in whose Stead they dwelt, dwelt in *Hazerim*, even unto *Azzah*, *עזה*, the same with *Gaza*, and generally translated so, and which is well known to have been one of the five principal Cities of these *Philistines*. So that as these *Caphtorim* possessed the very Country of the *Philistines*, they must be the same People under different Names; called *Caphtorim*, from *Caphtor*, the Country where they dwelt; and *Philistim*, from *Pelusium*, the principal City of it, from whence they made their Escape. These Observations put together, I think make it clear, beyond all reasonable Doubt, that the *Caphtorim*, or *Philistim*, were originally *Egyptians*, forced out of their own Country by some Misfortune that befel them, and that they seized on the Lands of the *Avim*, putting many of them to the Sword, driving others of them out of their Towns, and dwelling in their room. And this is more than intimated in *Jeremiah*, calling them † *the Remnant of the Isle of Caphtor*, the Remnant that had escaped some signal Destruction; and by what *Amos* declares of them: ‡ *Have I not*

* Deut. ii. 23.

† Jerem. xlvii. 4.

‡ Am. ix. 7.

brought

brought Israel up out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor? *i. e.* saved both of them from Destruction, and brought them into a Land originally not their own. And I think this will amount to full Proof, that *Philistia* could not be the original Name of the whole Country promised to the *Israelites*, except we suppose it had no Name before these *Philistines* invaded it; or that *Canaan's* Posterity, who originally possessed it, named their own Land from the *Egyptians*, who destroyed Part of them, possessed but a small Part of the Country, and did not belong to their Family: Suppositions which I am persuaded no Man, who considers the Names originally given to Countries, which were generally taken from the first Possessors of them, will ever allow the Probability of. However

To do the Philosopher Justice, he offers at some Proof of this critical Remark, that *Philistia* was the original Name of the Land of *Canaan*. It was, says he, * *called Philistia from the Philistines, who first took Possession of it.* And in another Place: *Because the Sidonians and Philistines † made the first Settlements in this Part of Asia.* This is very confidently said, but not attempted to be proved, with Regard to the *Philistines*. The *Sidonians* I allow were some of the first that made Settlements in this Country; for *Sidon* was the Son of *Canaan*, who gave Name to the City *Sidon* built by his Family.

* Vol. III. Pag. 236.

† Vol. III. p. 28.

So also were *Heth*, *Jebusi*, *Emori* and *Girgashi*, Brethren of *Sidon*, one of whom, *Jebus* or *Jebusi* had a City called after his Name, like *Sidon*, viz. *Jebus*, afterwards named *Jerusalem*. *Hamath* mentioned *Num. xiii. 21.* was the principal City of *Hamathi*, another of *Canaan's* Sons, retaining its Name, † *El Hammah* even to this Day. *Aradus*, now called *Rou-wadde*, was the principal Seat of *Arvadi*, another of his Family. The Ruines, still known by the Name of ‖ *Sumrah*, appear to be the Remains of the antient *Simyra*, the Seat formerly of *Zemari*, another of his Sons; and there are still Ruines of *Arca*, the City of *Arki*, the Offspring likewise of *Canaan*. The same Arguments that will prove the *Sidonians* to be the first Inhabitants of this Part of *Asia*, will prove the Settlements of all the other Sons of *Canaan* to be as early; and indeed the Thing is so plain from the *Hebrew* and other Historians, and the Remains of those antient Names to this Day, as to be really indisputable. And as these several Sons of *Canaan*, named their Towns and several Districts they possessed, from their own Names, 'tis reasonable to think they called the whole Country, *Canaan* from the Name of their common Father, as the *Egyptians* did the Country where they settled, rather than that it should take its Name from the *Philistim*, who were *Egyptians* by Birth, possessed but a very small Part

† *Shaw's Travels*, p. 325.

‖ *Id.* p. 327.

of the whole, and seized on what they did possess by Force of Arms. For 'tis not true that they made the first Settlements in this Part of *Asia*, since, as hath been proved, the *Avim* dwelt in their District before them, and were partly destroyed by them, and partly expelled into other Places; for there were some Remains of them in the Days of * *Joshua*; and therefore 'tis not true that the original Name of the whole Country was *Philistia*, unless our Author can prove it had no Name, till their Settlement in it, or that 'tis probable the Sons of *Canaan*, should call their Country by the Name of the *Philistines* their Enemies, and who were of a quite different Family from themselves.

But he adds farther, that † *the Plains or Sea-Coasts of the Mediterranean, from Sidon to the River Sihor, on the Borders of Egypt, were inhabited, in the Time of Abram, by the Sidonians and Philistines*. This he repeats with great Assurance elsewhere, ‡ affirming that *Philistia and Sidonia contained all the Sea-coasts of the Mediterranean from Sidon to the River Sidon*; it shou'd have been *Sihor, or one Hundred eighty Miles, the whole Length of Canaan*. But whatever these Passages were brought to prove, they will not prove that *Philistia* was the original Name of this Country; for he might as well prove from hence that 'twas called *Sidonia*.

* Josh. xiii. 3.

† Vol. III. Pag. 28.

‡ Ver. 3. Pag. 347.

Nor is the Observation itself true. That Part of the Sea-coasts, that was possessed by the *Philistines*, is expressly marked out, so that it cannot well be mistaken: *Their* * *Borders* are particularly said to be † *from Sihor, which is before Egypt even unto the Borders of Ekron Northwards, which is counted to the Canaanite*: Or as the original Words תחשב צפונה לכנעני may be more plainly and literally rendred: *Northwards* i. e. *North from Ekron, is counted to the Canaanite*; *five Lords of the Philistines, the Gathites, the Ashdodites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites*. And originally the Name *Philistia* belonged only to that Part which they inhabited. Thus פלשת *Philistia*, εἰ LXX, Φυλιστινίαι, is by ‡ *Moses* expressly distinguished from *Edom*, *Moab*, and *Canaan*. § *Isaiah* and § *Joel* speak of it, and prophecy against it, as a quite different Country from *Zion*, or *Judea*; and 'tis represented in the ** *Psalms* as peculiarly the Country of the *Philistines*, in Contradistinction to that of other Nations; nor is there the least Intimation in the sacred Writings that it ever extended Northwards up to *Sidon*, or much beyond their five Satrapies or Lordships mentioned by *Joshua*, the Northernmost Boundary of which he declares to be *Ekron*; nor one Instance to be produced, in which that Name is applied to signify the whole Coun-

* *Exod.* xiii. 17. † *Josh.* xiii. 3. ‡ *Exod.* xv. 14, 15.
 § *Isai.* xiv. 29, 31. § *Joel.* iii. 4. ** *Pf.* lx. 8,---
 lxxxvii. 4, cviii. 9.

try denoted by the Land of *Canaan*. The Name *Philistia*; changed by the *Greeks* and *Romans* into *Palæstina*, was only used to denote this whole Country; in later Ages; and by them transferred from a Part, *viz.* the single Country, or District of the *Philistines*, to the whole; for as * *Josephus* assures us, the *Greeks* called that Tract of Land from *Gaza* down to *Egypt*, by the Name of *Palestine*; a Name given by them to other Places, as hath been shewn by the learned † *Reland*.

And as the Northermost Boundary of the *Philistines* was *Ekrôn*, so from thence farther North was counted to the *Canaanite*. And accordingly we shall find, that the Situation of the *Canaanites* is as particularly and fully described, as the Borders of the *Philistines*, and expressly placed between *Sidon* and *Philistia*. ‡ *The Border of the Canaanite*, says the *Hebrew Historian*, was from *Sidon*, as thou comest unto *Gerar* unto *Gaza*; as thou comest unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, i. e. as one travels, one Way, from *Sidon* by *Gerar* down to *Gaza*, and on the other, as one travels from *Sidon* down to *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. Their Southern Borders extended to *Gaza*, exclusive of it, their North Border to *Sidon*, also exclusively, their eastern to *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and was bounded on the West by the great Sea, or *Mediterranean*.

* Οι πάντες την από Γαζης έως Αιγυπτου γην κατεχον. Παλαισινην γαρ οι Ελληνες αυτη την μοιραν καλεσι. Jos. l. 1. c. 6. §. 2.

† *Palæst.* p. 74.

‡ *Gen.* x. 19.

And accordingly we find them in this Situation afterwards by the Sea-coasts, in the Times of *Moses* and *Joshua*. * *The Canaanite*, saith the Historian, *dwell by the Sea*. And † *the Kings of the Canaanites which were by the Sea*. So that the *Canaanites* possessed all the Sea-coasts from *Sidon* down to the *Philistines* Country, and parted the two Districts. So that 'tis not true, that the Sea-coasts of the *Mediterranean* from *Sidon* to *Sibor* on the Borders of *Egypt*, were inhabited by the *Sidonians* and *Philistines*; and if it had been, 'twould not have followed from thence, that the original Name of the whole Country was *Philistia*.

2. The Philosopher asserts, that tho' the original Name of the Land of *Canaan* was *Philistia*, yet it was ‡ afterwards called *Canaan*, when the *Canaanites* came to settle there. And how it came to be called so, || he intimates to us by a very shrewd Guess: *Moses might call it Canaan, because the Canaanites, whom he intended to destroy, and drive out, had been then settled there, and had well peopled and cultivated the Country*. *Moses might call it Canaan*. Extremely cautious: How lucky the Conjecture! What Discoveries would such a philosophical Genius make, if he were to write upon the *Origines Gentium*! *Moses might do so and so*. Excellent Reasoning against strong Facts! And why might not *Moses* do otherwise? Did not

* Num. xiii. 29.

† Josh. v. 1.

‡ Vol. III. p. 27.

|| Pag. 236.

*Moses intend to drive out and destroy the Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites and Hivites and Jebusites as well as these same Canaanites? And why might he not have called it by one of their Names, as well as by that of the Canaanites? Yea, why might he not have called it so from Canaan, the Father of all the Canaanites, rather than from the Canaanites the Children of Canaan; as well as call Egypt, Mizraim from Mizraim, the Father of the Egyptians, Assur from Assur, Edom from Edom, Moab, Ammon, for the same Reasons? I leave every honest Man, that is in the least acquainted with the Mosaic Writings, to judge whose might be is the more probable. The People particularly distinguished by the Name of Canaanites, were not originally settled in this Country, as the Philosopher allows; who places their Entrance into it about the Birth of Moses. Now what might be the Name of this Country before the Settlement of these Canaanites? Philistia I have proved it was not, and Canaan our Philosopher will not let it be. If so, how came the general Name of the Inhabitants to be that of Canaanites, even in the Time of Abraham himself? And certainly that was the Name of them, if Abraham, or Moses his Account of him may be believ'd, and till the Philosopher can produce more antient or authentick Vouchers, to the contrary. For thus he made his Servant swear: * *Thou shalt not take a Wife unto my Son, of the Daughters of the**

* Gen. xxiv. 3.

Canaanites, *amongst whom I dwell.* And when *Abraham's* Servant repeated this Charge of his Master to *Laban*, 'tis in these Words: * *Thou shalt not take a Wife to my Son of the Daughters of the Canaanites in whose Land I dwell.* As I am willing to oblige my Philosopher as far as I can, by these *Canaanites* shall be meant, if he pleases, either in general the Inhabitants of this Country, or the particular People of the *Canaanites*, as distinguished from the other Nations who dwelt in it. If the first, he will be so good as to allow me, for my Civility, that the Land of *Canaan* might not have its Name from his *Canaanites*, that came into the Country, according to him, so long after *Abraham's* Time, but from my *Canaanites*, amongst whom *Abraham* liv'd, and they from their Father *Canaan*. Or if he chooses the latter, he will allow these *Canaanites* to have been in this Country before the Time of *Moses*, and that the Name *Canaan* was not given to it from them by him. I leave him to his own Meditations on these Heads. But I would beg him to consider, how the Title of the Land of *Canaan* came to be so well known in *Egypt*, many Years before the Time of *Moses* his Birth, if *Moses* was the first Person who gave it this Name? For thus when *Joseph* sternly asked his Brethren: † *Whence come ye?* They answered him, *From the Land of Canaan to buy Food*, and told him

* Gen. xxiv. 37.

† Gen. xlii. 7, 13.

they were *the Sons of one Man in the Land of Canaan*, and that *they brought their Money out of the Land of Canaan*, and * *Pharaoh* ordered *Joseph* to bid his Brethren *lade their Beasts, and go into the Land of Canaan*, and bring their Father into the Land of *Egypt*. How came *Joseph* and *Pharaoh* to be so well acquainted with this Name, if the Country had never been called by it till many Years after? Or hath the *Hebrew* Historian falsified the Account, by putting Words they did not say into their Mouths? I will believe it, when he hath proved it, but not upon the Solemnity and Credit of his bare Affirmation. I would also put him in Mind on this Article, † that *the Daughters of Heth* are called by the Historian *the Daughters of Canaan*; of whom *Isaac* commanded *Jacob* not to take a Wife. And *the Wives of Esau* were *daughters of Canaan*, one of which was an *Hivite* and the other an *Hittite*. Now the Reason of their being called *Daughters of Canaan* can be no other, but because the *Hivite* and *Hittite* were both Descendants of *Canaan*; and when the Historian immediately adds, that *Esau* had several Children by these two *Daughters of Canaan* in *the Land of Canaan*, would any mortal Man but our Philosopher imagin, that there should be two different Origins of this very Name of *Canaan*? I should really think myself unpardonable in insisting so long on so evident a Point,

* 47, 27.

† Gen. xxviii. 1.

which was yet * never called in Question by any Man of Learning, had I not been urged to it by the Impertinent Assurance of this Philosopher. But,

3. He asserts with equal Knowledge and Truth, that † *the Settlement of the Canaanites in the Land of Canaan, was not till after the Times of Abram*: Yea, what is still more wonderful, ‡ that *they were not settled in it, whilst Joseph kept his Interest in the Egyptian Court*. And again: || *This Settlement of theirs, the Canaanites, in that Part of the World, had not, probably, been long before the Birth of Moses*. 'Tis pity a Man who loves to deal thus in Conjectures and *Probabilities*, should not favour the World with the Reasons of them, that his *Probables* may seem as *probable* to others as himself. But he seems to think, that for him *to assert* is the same Thing as *to prove*. He is forced to acknowledge, that these *Canaanites* were not originally settled in this Country; and the Reason why he places them here so late as about the Birth of *Moses* is obvious enough. Should we find them here in the Times of *Abram* and *Isaac*, we may possibly find *Canaanitish Shepherds* going down into, and returning out of *Egypt*, before the going down of the *Israelites* there, and their Expulsion from it, and so endanger his *Romance* about the *Hebrew Pastors*. But

Regiones de nominibus illius vel illorum, qui primi eas incoluerunt, appellare in sacris literis est usitatissimum; uti, *quod nullus negat*, terram Canaan a Canaan. Reland. Palæst. p. 64.

† Vol. III. Pag. 27, 235. ‡ Pag. 24, 25. || Pag. 236.

rather

rather than so fine a *wrought Fable* should fail of some Probability, he is determined to deny Facts that he can't disprove, and to introduce his own Conjectures, that he hath neither Learning nor Argument to support. 'Tis I am sure probable from the *Hebrew Historian*, that these *Canaanites* were in *Canaan* in the Days of *Abraham* himself. For 'tis particularly remarked, upon *Abraham's* first coming into *Canaan*, that "the *Canaanite was then in the Land*. In like Manner after his Return out of *Egypt*, 'tis said: † *The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the Land*. And both the *Samaritan* and *LXX Versions* confirm this Account of the present *Hebrew Copies*. But the Philosopher by an easy Remark, can at once destroy the Force of this Evidence; and will tell us, ‡ *that in short, there were no such People in the Country as the Amorite, or Canaanite Mountaineers in Abram's Time*, and that therefore the placing them here so soon *must have been a Forgery, or Interpolation of later Ages*. But he should tell us why it must have been a Forgery or Interpolation, and shew when, and by whom, and for what Reasons the Interpolation was made. That these Passages from *Genesis* are no Interpolations seems plain, in that all the Versions acknowledge them, and because they are agreeable to the whole Series of the History. As the *Historian* had, after the Account of *Canaan's* Posterity, that were originally settled in the Land

* Gen. xii. 6.

† xiii. 7.

‡ Vol. III. Pag. 337.

of *Canaan*, remarked ; that * *the Families of the Canaanites were afterwards spread abroad in it ;* i. e. that the Families of that particular People, called *Canaanites*, were settled in this Country not till a considerable while after the other Sons of *Canaan* there mentioned had taken Possession of it, it was but natural for him to drop some Hint concerning the Time of their being there ; especially as they were included amongst the People, whose Possessions were to be given to *Abram's* Posterity. And therefore Antecedent to God's Promise to him, the Historian assures us, that when he first came into *Canaan*, these very *Canaanites* were then settled in the Land. And accordingly in the Covenant God made with *Abram*, he expressly promises him : † *Unto thy Seed have I given this Land, the Kenites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites and Jebusites*; so that the *Canaanites*, as a distinct People, were then as certainly in the Land, as any other of the Nations mention'd. *Jacob*, in his Complaints of *Simeon* and *Levi*, tells them : *Ye have made me to stink amongst the Inhabitants of the ‡ Land, amongst the Canaanites and the Perizzites* ; where the *Canaanite* being join'd with the || *Perizzite* determines them to be the particular Families of the *Canaanites* so called, as a distinct People from the other Nations of this Country, who in a few Places only are in general called *Canaanites*. So that the *Canaanites*

* Gen. x. 18.

† Gen. xv. 18, 21.

‡ Gen. xxxiv. 30.

|| Gen. xlii. 7.

dwelt in the Land in *Abraham's*, *Isaac's* and *Jacob's* Time, by the Account of the *Hebrew* Historian; and our Moral Historian honestly and pleasantly brings them into this Country, above two hundred Years after they had already possessed it.—*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?* But

4. Our Author goes on, in his *Philosophical Reveries*, to assert, that when *Abraham* first came into this Country of Canaan, * *the inland Mountainous Parts, and the Plains of Jordan next Arabia, were in a Manner open and uninhabited, and that it was a † very barren desert Country, but little inhabited, very subject to Drought and Scarcity.* This he affirms of the whole Country in general, and that it was *not worth conquering, purchasing or possessing.* ‡ And to heighten this lamentable Account he adds, that *these Hebrew Shepherds had suffered great Hardships, and many Droughts and Dearths in Canaan.* Poor Shepherds! One would imagin by this piteous Story, that these unfortunate Men were almost *always* hungry and thirsty, thro' the Poverty and Barrenness of so miserable a Country; for he says *they suffered many Droughts and Dearths in Canaan;* and that their Cattle were frequently destroyed, and that they were forced to innumerable Shifts for their Preservation and Support; for *they suffered great Hardships.* But Misrepresentation aside, the Case is not really quite so compassionate. From *Abraham's* De-

* Vol. III. p. 27.

† Page 25.

‡ Page 30.

parture out of *Haran*, to *Jacob's* going down with his Family into *Egypt*, were two hundred and fifteen Years, according to the *Hebrew* Historian's Account. During these two hundred and fifteen Years, we read but of three Famines in *Canaan* ; one in *Abraham's* Time, who lived one hundred Years in *Canaan*, soon after he came into it ; one in *Isaack's* Time, who lived there one hundred and eighty Years ; and one in *Jacob's* Time, who lived there the greatest Part of one hundred and thirty Years. The Famine in *Isaack's* Time doth not appear to be great or universal, for he abode in the Land of the *Philistines*, where he had plenty for himself and Cattle. The Famine in *Jacob's* Time was severe, but no more an Argument of the Land of *Canaan's* being a barren Country, or subject to Drought and Scarcity, than it was of *Egypt's* being so, the Famine being equally severe in both Countries. So that in two hundred and fifteen Years, there were two Scarcities peculiar to this Land, one of them only hapning in a Part of it. These are all the Scarcities that the sacred Historian mentions during the Lives of these Patriarchs ; nor is it any where, I think said, that even these were occasioned by Drought. So that his affirming that *Canaan* was very subject to Drought, is a mere Fiction, unless he can prove that a Famine could happen there from no other Cause. Nor is there more Truth in his saying '*'twas very subject to Scarcity*, unless a small Scarcity's hapning once in one hundred

dred and eighty Years, in one Part of a Country, or a severe Scarcity's hapning in two hundred and fifteen Years, be an Argument of a Countries being very liable to such Scarcity. Nor is there the least Shadow of Proof that *Canaan* was naturally a barren Country. 'Tis evident from the whole History and Travels of these Patriarchs, that its Produce was sufficient for the Native Inhabitants, and themselves who were Strangers in it, and the numerous Flocks of Cattle that they fed. * When *Abraham* took the Hills, as our Author tells us, did he imagine them to be barren? How then did he hope to feed his Flocks, those numerous Flocks with which he abounded? Or did he drive them to the Hills with a Resolution to starve them? No, he knew them to be fit for Pasturage, and sufficient to maintain his Cattle; an evident Proof that even the hilly Country was far from being barren, as the Moral Philosopher very falsely asserts. And as for *the great Hardships* he and *Isaack* and *Jacob* suffered, as they are to be found no where but in our Author's fertile Imagination, the Reality of them may be justly question'd and denied. And whereas he is pleased farther to tell us, that it was a Land *not worth conquering, purchasing or possessing*; how did he come to know the Value of it in those Times? *Abraham* thought otherwise. When God promised it to him, instead of refusing it, as a Country not worth having, he cries out:

* Vol. III. Page 27.

* *Whereby*

* *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it:* Give me some Proof that I shall obtain it. *Isaack* liked it so well, that I think, he never went out of it; and *Jacob* was forced from it by Necessity, and an extraordinary Providence into *Egypt*. And tho' he had been many Years with *Laban* his Father-in-Law, and was well acquainted with the Fruitfulness of that Country where he dwelt, yet he chose to leave it, and poor and barren as the Land of *Canaan* was, according to this Author's Account of it, he gladly return'd to it, with all his numerous Flocks and Herds, and the large Family that was born to him; which *Jacob* had too much Prudence ever to have done, had the Country been in that Condition in which the Philosopher would represent it. The Truth is that the Land of *Canaan* was a fertile Soil, the Valleys fit for Tillage, and the Hills for Pasturage of Cattle, as is evident from the whole History of *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Isaack* and *Jacob*; and that these antient Patriarchs were exposed to no more Difficulties and Hardships from the Country in which they dwelt, than what their manner of living exposed them to; which was a Method common in those early Ages; Agriculture and Pastorage being the most ancient and honourable Employments of Mankind.

I cannot help here inserting the Account of the learned Mr. † *Shaw*, who hath himself travelled over these Countries, and bears Witness e-

* Gen. xv. 8.

† *Shaw's Travels*, Page 368.

ven to the present Fertility of them. “ The
 “ mountainous Parts even of the Holy Land,
 “ were so far from being inhospitable, unfruit-
 “ ful, or the Refuse of the Land of *Canaan*,
 “ that in the Division of this Country, the
 “ Mountain of *Hebron* was granted to *Caleb*
 “ as a particular Favour. Even *at Present*,
 “ notwithstanding the Want there hath been
 “ for many Ages of a proper Culture and Im-
 “ provement, yet the Plains and Valleys, tho’
 “ as fruitful as ever, lie almost intirely neglect-
 “ ed; whilst *every little Hill* is crowded with
 “ Inhabitants. If this Part therefore of the Holy
 “ Land was made up only of naked Rocks and
 “ Precipices; how comes it to pass, that it
 “ shou’d *be more frequented*, than the Plains of
 “ *Esdraelon, Ramah, Zebulon* or *Acre*; which
 “ is a Country very delightful and fertile be-
 “ yond Imagination. The Reason is this,
 “ that they find sufficient Conveniencies for
 “ themselves, *and much greater for their Cat-*
 “ *tle*. For here they themselves *have Bread to*
 “ *the full*, whilst their Cattle brooze upon a
 “ richer Herbage, and both of them *are re-*
 “ *fresbed by Springs of excellent Water, too much*
 “ *wanted in the Summer Season*, not only in
 “ *the Plains* of this, but of other Countries in
 “ the same Climates.” Thus this excellent
 Writer. But our Philosopher gives an Account
 just the Reverse of all this. * *The mountainous*
Parts of the Country were then desert and un-

inhabited, and lay all open to Abram and Lot, and not having yet been tilled and cultivated, nor scarce any Wells dug, or Conveniencies for Water, made it very subject to Dearth and Scarcity, which often drove the Patriarchs into the Plains amongst the Philistines. How Magisterially and Philosophically said! An Eye-witness could not have been more positive.---*Hem! Nova res orta est*--- Wells dug in the Mountains, and the *Patriarchs* driven into the Plains for Water, are discoveries in the Holy Land just now found out by this learned Writer. Let him peaceably enjoy them. 'Tis Pity to rob him of the Glory of these curious Observations. I will however add one or two Passages more, from the above judicious Author, to set my Philosopher a little upon Recollection. * “ The Mountains
 “ of this Country abound in some Places with
 “ Thyme, Rosemary, Sage, and such like A-
 “ romatic Plants, as the Bee chiefly looks af-
 “ ter; so they are no less stocked in others,
 “ with shrubby and a delicate short Grass.
 “ The Soil is of a light loamy Nature, rarely
 “ requiring more than one Pair of Oxen to
 “ plow it, both in the maritime and inland
 “ Parts of *Syria* and *Phenice*. The Holy Land,
 “ were it as well peopled and cultivated as in
 “ former Time, would still be more fruitful
 “ than the very best Part of the Coast of *Syria*
 “ and *Phenice*; for the Soil itself is generally
 “ much richer; neither is it possible for Pulse,

* Page 364, 365, 366.

“ Wheat or any Sort of Grain to be more ex-
 “ cellent, than what is commonly sold at Je-
 “ rusalem. *The Barrenness or Scarcity which*
 “ *some Authors may either ignorantly or ma-*
 “ *liciously complain of,* doth not proceed from
 “ the Incapacity or *natural Unfruitfulness* of the
 “ Country, but from the Want of Inhabitants,
 “ and the great Aversion there is to labour in
 “ those few who possess it. The Land is *a*
 “ *good Land*, and still capable of affording its
 “ Neighbours the like Supplies of Corn and
 “ Oil, which it is known to have done in the
 “ Time of *Solomon*.” The Soil and Fruitful-
 ness, the delicate short Grass, the aromatick
 Plants, the Springs of excellent Water, and the
 like natural Bounties of Providence, were I pre-
 sume the same in *Abraham’s* Time, when these
 Hills were inhabited partly by the *Canaanites*
 and *Amorites*; and therefore were it not for
the Wells, that our Philosopher complains for
 the Want of, were a Country well worth con-
 quering, possessing and inhabiting. And from
 these Observations it farther follows:

5. That the Philosopher’s Assertion, that
 Palestine * *seemed a very unlikely Place for the Ac-*
complishment of God’s Promise, to give Abraham
a rich and fertile Country; or, as he elsewhere
 expresses it: Canaan † *was now a desolate and*
barren Country, and not likely to be the promised
Land; deserves the same Credit, and is a Truth
 equally with the rest. ’Tis true, that some

* Page 26. † Page 88.

Time after *Abram* had been in *Canaan*, that Country laboured under a grievous Famine: What was the Occasion of it is not said. But 'tis no where asserted, nor in the least probable, that 'twas owing to *the natural Barrenness* of the Land; nor was there any Thing like it that ever happened afterwards, during the hundred Years that he lived in it. He was so well pleased with it, that he doth not appear ever to have formed a Design of leaving it, or ever to have gone out of it, after his Return into it out of *Egypt*. And indeed his Prosperity in it was so great, as that he could have no possible Temptation to form any such Design, and could not but think that this was *a very likely Place for the Accomplishment of God's Promise to give him a rich and fertile Country*. And I hope the learned Doctor will give me leave to press even *the Moral Philosopher* into this Service, and allow me to use his Judgment in Confirmation of this Truth.

Now this learned Philosopher assures us, that *Abram* * *being driven out of Egypt, goes back into Canaan, and was now exceeding rich in Flocks and Herds, Silver and Gold, numerous Servants, and all the Wealth of those Times*. Herein he agrees with the *Hebrew Historian*. † But how were all these Flocks, and Herds, and numerous Servants to be maintained, in so barren and desert a Country, as the Philosopher tells us, *Canaan* was? Was the Country able to afford suf-

* Page 27.

† Gen. xiii. 2.

ficient Maintenance and Pasture for so numerous a Company? If it was, no more Complaints I hope of *Dearth*s, and Famines, and Scarcities. If not, whence did *Abram* provide for them? How came he to sojourn a full hundred Years in so miserable a Country? Or did he out-live his Prosperity, and see all his Flocks and Family die for Want before him? The Philosopher will not chuse to assert this. What then could induce *Abram* to forsake a Country, that was able to maintain him, and in which he had experienced such uninterrupted and perpetual Prosperity? What could make him doubt, whether this was *the Land of Promise*, in which, tho' a Stranger and a Foreigner, without any considerable Possessions of Lands, Towns and Cities, he had acquired such immense Riches, as to leave an ample Inheritance to *Isaack* his Son, and Heir, and provide proper Portions for his numerous Posterity by his Wife *Keturah*?

Especially if what he farther tells us of *Abram*, be true: That * *Abram in his Time, might easily have conquered the whole Land of Canaan, and driven out all the former Inhabitants then settled in the Country, had he thought fit; for he had a Force superiour to any or all of them.* My Reader will, I am confident, immediately suspect, that this Account is a *philosophico—moral Romance*, and not the Scripture History. We will examine the Truth of it hereafter. Let us try to stretch our Faith, and for

once, if we can, believe that *Abram* was able to have conquered the whole Land of *Canaan*, having a Force superiour to any or all the Inhabitants then settled in the Country. Now this Country was inhabited in *Abram's* Time by the People properly called † *Canaanites*, by those called *Perizzites*, by the *Sidonians*, by the *Kenites*, *Kenizzites*, *Kadmonites*, *Hittites*, *Rephaim*, *Amorites*, *Girgashites*, *Jebusites*, *Philistines*, and others mentioned † elsewhere. Amongst these People there were Cities, *Kirjath Arba*, or *Hebron*, *Salem*, *Gerar*, *Sidon*, and others. They also had some of them their Kings, *Melchizedeck*, *Abimelech*, with others not mentioned by the Historians. Now how doth this aggrandize the Account our Author gives of *Abram's* Power and Wealth ! whom, as tho' he had lived in his Time, he makes superior to these twelve different People, or Nations ; some of them unquestionably numerous and powerful, such as the *Sidonians*, the *Philistines*, and *Canaanites*, who had their Kings and Cities, which two last Nations were Colonies from *Egypt*, and settled themselves by Force of Arms in the Land of *Canaan*. From the Flood to *Abram's* Entrance into *Canaan* was considerably above three hundred Years. Now allowing these twelve Nations to have encreased in this Space of Time, each of them to one Thousand grown Men, the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan* in *Abram's* Days, will be twelve Thousand. I know

* Gen. xii. 6. xiii. 7.

† Gen. xiv.

learned Men will be apt to laugh at me for setting the Number so low ; but they will excuse me, when I assure them 'tis *in Compassion* to the Philosopher. Now if *Abram* had a Force superior to all these ; his Family, I should rather say his Troops, were *at least* twelve Thousand and one strong ; and by their Bravery and Courage we are to suppose him able, had he thought fit, to conquer all the Kings, take all the Cities, and destroy or drive away all the Inhabitants of the whole Land of *Canaan*. So that King *Abram* is now *morally* made, by this learned Philosopher, the most potent King of all *Palestine*—*Quanti est Sapere*—I am not now dispos'd to dispute with him, this Account of the Princely Patriarch. But he will allow me to inquire, how *Canaan* could support these numerous Troops of *Abram*, besides the other Inhabitants of the Land, with all their Families, Flocks, Herds and Servants, if it was such a poor, barren, desert, beggarly Country as he represents it ? Or, that if it was abundantly able to maintain and provide for them, and that if *Abram* could maintain all his Grandeur, Wealth and Power, whilst he sojourn'd in it ; how he could think it *an unlikely Place for the Accomplishment of God's Promise, to give him a rich and fertile Country* ? The reconciling these Difficulties will require all our Author's philosophical Skill, and try the utmost Extent of his Capacities.

S E C T III.

Of Abram's Denial of his Wife in Egypt.

HOWever, he will have it, that * Egypt seem'd the most promising Place, for Abram's Settlement, and therefore he tells us, that down he goes with his Wife, Servants, Flocks, Herds, and whole Substance into Egypt, with a Design, as is evident, of settling there; tho' the Scriptures evidently say, only to sojourn there. Here he prevails with Sarai, he assures us, to deny her being his Wife, and to say she was his Sister; and so fond was this Patriarch of Egypt, so well persuaded, that this was the Country God had given him, that he was ready to prostitute his own Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity, to secure himself a Settlement there. I shall not take on me to assign the Reasons of Abram's Conduct in all the Transactions of his Life, much less to affirm, that his whole Conduct was free from Blame. But, I think, this Representation of Abram's Behaviour in this Affair, hath a very great Appearance of Ill-Nature in it, and looks like such a Readiness to place the Actions of great and good Men, long deceas'd, in the most odious and infamous Point of View, as is inconsistent with all Candour, Morality, Philosophy, and even Humanity itself. The Particulars of this Account are these:

* Page 26.

1. That he prevailed on *Sarai* to deny her being his Wife, and to say she was his Sister.

2. That he was ready to sacrifice her Chastity, and prostitute his own Wife. And

3. That he did this from a Fondness for *Egypt*, a Perswasion 'twas the Country God had given him, and in order to secure himself a Settlement there.

1. He asserts that *Abram* prevail'd on *Sarai* to deny her being his Wife. The *Hebrew* Historian affirms nothing like it; but only that he persuaded her to say, she was his Sister. Say, *I pray thee, thou art my Sister*; * and this was a real Truth, she having the same Father, tho' a different Mother from himself. She stood in this two-fold Relation to him, of a half Sister and Wife; and *Abram* chose, that as they travelled from Place to Place, she should rather take on her the Character of a Sister. But doth the asserting one Truth, imply the Denial of another? Or, the owning her in the Relation of a Sister, imply that he disowned and denied her to be his Wife? Or, supposing that *Abram* had told *Pharaoh* she was his Wife, was this denying she was his Sister? Should I, upon any one's asking me, what *Dr. Morgan* was, say he was a *Moral Philosopher*, should I thereby deny him to be a *Practitioner in Physick*, or *Dealer in Divinity*? Ridiculous. I should indeed conceal a Truth, but not deny it; and this *Casuiſt*, that hath fixed on *Abram*

* Gen. xii. 13, 20.

so ungrounded a Charge, hath used the Patriarch ill, and not consulted his own Reputation. Whether *Abram's* Concealment in this Affair was right, or not, is another Question. What I assert is, that the *Moral Philosopher* hath *unjustly accus'd* Abram, by saying, he prevailed on *Sarai* to deny her being his Wife. He never desired her to do it, by any Thing that appears from the Historian; nor did she by saying she was his Sister, deny her being his Wife, so much as by *Implication*; especially amongst the *Egyptians*, amongst whom the Marriage of Brothers and whole Sisters was a very antient Custom, derived even from *Isis* herself; who was Wife, and as the *Egyptians* themselves believed, Sister to *Osiris*, or *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*, *Noah's* youngest Son. Thus * *Diodorus Siculus*: *They say there was a Law amongst the Egyptians, contrary to the common Custom of others, that Persons might marry their Sisters, because this succeeded prosperously to Isis amongst them, who had married Osiris her Brother.* And this is confirm'd by the Account of *Moses*, who, when forbidding the Marriage of Brothers and Sisters, thus introduces it: † *After the Doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; plainly implying, that incestuous Marriages*

* Νομοθεησται δε φασι τες Αιγυπτίους παρα το κοινον εθος των αλλων ανθρωπων, γαμειν αδελφας, δια το γεγονος εν ταυταις της Ισιδος επιτευγμα. Ταυτην γαρ συνοικησασαν Οσειριδι τω αδελφω. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 23.

† Lev. xviii. 3.

were too frequently practised by that corrupted People.

2. 'Tis with as little Truth and Humanity that he asserts, that Abram *was ready to prostitute his Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity*. He could scarce have given a worse Character of the most profligate Wretch that History makes mention of, than to say, HE WAS READY *to prostitute his own Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity*. The Man that can do this, on any Occasion, is mean and infamous to the most absolute Contempt; but the Man that *is ready* to do this, that carries in him a Mind and Disposition prepared for such a Villany, is execrable beyond Description. And the Man, that can deliberately and coolly thus rake into the Ashes of the Dead, and cruelly stab their Memories; that can first give the worst Construction to their Words, and upon this Foundation blacken their Names with Crimes of the vilest Nature, to which their whole Character is a Contradiction; the Man that can do this, may *personate* a Moral Philosopher, but should be told, that he is defective even in Humanity itself. Had he only blamed the Patriarch for his Concealment, or seeming Distrust of Providence, or thro' Fear exposing his Wife to Danger, I should have said little on this Subject. But his fixing on him *a Design to prostitute his Wife, and a Readiness of Mind* to do this, hath *the Appearance* of such an unreasonable Malice, as a truly Moral Philosopher would be ashamed of. I hope my Reader will forgive me, if I have expressed an *undue*

Warmth on this Occasion, when he remembers that 'tis the Cause of the Dead, *the injured Dead*, the *venerable Dead*, that I am pleading. With *causeless Fury* to assassinate their Characters, and raise them from their Graves, only with a Design barbarously to insult and destroy them, is a Crime of the highest Aggravation. The Truth of the Fact is this :

Abram being called out of his own Country, by the Order of God, was of Course a Stranger and Sojourner in every Land where he went. His own Family that he left were Idolaters, and so were the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan* where he went to reside, and ready, many of them, to commit the worst of Crimes. This is evident from what God tells *Abram*, * *The Iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full*; plainly intimating, that their Iniquities were already very great, but not so universal as to render their Destruction yet absolutely necessary. We know the Crimes and the Fate of the Cities of *Sodom* and *Gemorrab*. And what the Impieties and Vices of the Lands of *Canaan* and *Egypt* were, we have a full Account by the Sacred Historian, *Levit. xvii*. And in particular, that they were given to the most abominable and unrestrained Lewdnesses. As *Abram* was, by the Providence of God, obliged to sojourn amongst these corrupt and profligate Nations, he had a Concern for his own Life, and to preserve his Wife's Honour and Chastity. As she was a fair and handsome Woman, he had Rea-

* Gen. xv. 16.

son to suspect, from the Manners of those amongst whom he dwelt, that they would endeavour to gain her from him; and accomplish their infamous Desires by any Methods that were in their Power: And therefore, that if they knew him to be her Husband, they would destroy him, as their grand Obstacle to such a Design, and then have his Wife absolutely at their Disposal, to do with her as they pleased, the only Impediment to the gratifying such an infamous Intention being then removed. * *It shall come to pass,* says Abram, *that they will say, This is his Wife; and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive, viz. for the Purposes of their Lust,* when I am removed out of their Way. To prevent both these Intentions, to save himself and preserve her, he resolved on this Expedient; and says to her: † *This is thy Kindness which thou shalt shew unto me; at every Place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my Brother.* This she could say with the strictest Truth, and if this was a proper Method to preserve her Husband's Life, and could be done *with Safety* to herself, and with *equal Safety* to herself, as tho' she had said she was his Wife; yea, with *a greater Probability of Safety*; I think, the saying she was his Sister was not only lawful, but her Duty. And, I apprehend, she could say this with equal, or greater Safety to herself. If the Inhabitants of the Places, where they came, were vicious enough to resolve on enjoying her,

* Gen. xii. 12.

† Gen. xx. 13.

merely because she was a fair Woman ; I see no Reason to think, but that they might have destroy'd him, to obtain her ; if they had immediately known him to have been her Husband ; the Consequence of which must have been, that she must have been an irredeemable Sacrifice to their Lust. And this was evidently what *Abram* imagined and feared might be the Case, and which he intimated to his Wife, in those Words : *Thee they will save alive* ; an Expression that she well understood the Meaning of, and that plainly discovers his Uneasiness on her Account. But the owning herself his Sister was a *natural Means* of saving his Life, and, I think, no more endanger'd her Chastity, than if she had said he was her Husband. 'Tis true, that by affirming herself his Sister, she lay open to Solicitation, and Courtship. But artful, *prudent Women* know, by a thousand Methods, how to prolong an Affair of this Nature, and to receive Addresses without giving too much Encouragement ; and even sometimes to encourage and prolong Expectations that they never intend to gratify. And 'tis well known that Men of strong Passions and Lusts can much more patiently bear *delay'd Expectations* in such Cases, than Circumstances that cut off all Hope, and render the Attainment of their Desires impossible ; and that such Circumstances often make them resolve on the most desperate and criminal Methods to remove those Obstacles that render the Accomplishment of their Wishes impracticable.

table. Such a Circumstance was *Abram's* being Husband to *Sarai* ; and as the owning this would have endanger'd his Life, and might therefore have occasioned her being for ever detain'd as a Sacrifice to the Lust of those amongst whom they sojourned ; *Abram* prudently desires his Wife to assume her other Character of a Sister, that upon Supposition of her being solicited by any Persons, amongst whom she sojourned, she might delay the Affair till Providence should find out a Way for their Removal elsewhere. All that the Patriarch wanted, was Delay. He was but a Stranger, and continually removing from Place to Place. And this Delay he was most likely to gain by this innocent Deception.

The only Suspicion of any Fault, that I can see, was his great Confidence in his Wife's Honour; and this unquestionably arose from his full Knowledge of her Disposition and Worth. Besides, she had now passed the Youth of Life; she was at least sixty five Years of Age, when the Warmth of Inclination, and the Heat of Desire were well over ; and therefore her Prudence and Experience and Resolution might well be trusted ; and the Confidence her Husband placed in her was nothing more than was due to her past Fidelity and Merit.

But what a Wretch doth this Philosopher make of *Sarai*, as well as of *Abram* her Husband. We find *Sarai* consenting to this Proposal of her Husband, and acting according
to

to it both in *Egypt* and *Philistia*. Yea, the Agreement between them was, * *This is thy Kindness thou shalt shew unto me, at every Place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my Brother*. What did *Abram* intend to prostitute her, and secure himself a Settlement in every Place where he came, by such a Prostitution? Did she believe her Husband *was as ready*, as this Moral Philosopher says he was, *to prostitute her every where*, and sacrifice her Chastity? And did she as readily consent to this Proposal of being *every where prostituted* and sacrificed? If she did, she was the Reproach of her Sex, and let her Name henceforward never be mentioned without Detestation. But if she did not believe, and had no Reason to think, that *Abram* could harbour such an infamous Design, whence did this Moral Philosopher get this Knowledge, and how *infamous* is his Conduct, in thus prostituting the Character of two of the most venerable Personages in all sacred and profane History? The Agreement between them, as soon consented to by *Sarai*, as proposed by *Abram*, evidently demonstrates that they made it merely upon *prudential Views*, and thought it necessary to their Safety, and a proper Expedient to secure it; especially as 'twas to be an Expedient made use of at every Place; unless we make them, with this Moral Philosopher, two of the most execrable and abandon'd Characters then living on the Earth. And

* Gen. xx. 30.

such I will affirm they were, if *Abram* was *as ready* every where to prostitute her, and she *as ready* to prostitute herself every where, as the Philosopher tells us they were. And yet infamous and vile, and ready to enter into all the base and accursed Methods of Prostitution, as he here represents him, yet elsewhere we are told, that Abram * *sought only a peaceable Settlement, where Providence should cast him*, and he seems to reckon him amongst those Men, who *lived with an absolute, intire Trust in and Reliance upon God, and kept a careful Scrutiny of their Lives and Actions, † and a strict Regard to God's providential Disposal of them*. So that we have here the same Person, seeking a Settlement in *Egypt*, by a *Readiness to prostitute* and sacrifice his own Wife to Lust, and yet seeking only a peaceable Settlement *where Providence shou'd cast him*. So that seeking a Settlement under the Conduct of Providence, and the Prostitution of a Man's Wife is it seems the same Thing. He lived with *an intire Trust* in God, and *a strict Regard* to his providential Dispensations; and manifested this Trust in God and Regard to his Dispensations, by a *Readiness* to commit such Villanies, as no Man would ever allow himself to harbour, that believed seriously either a God or Providence. A good Man may be guilty of Errours, and may vary in particular Instances from his habitual Temper and Practice. But a *Readiness* to per-

* Page 94.

† Page 96.

petrate the meanest and most scandalous Crime^s can be the Disposition only of *a finish'd Wretch*, whose Heart is hardned against all the Apprehensions of Deity and Regards of Providence. Such a Man hath this *truly Moral Philosopher*, made *Abram*, and that for a Reason as contrary to Truth, as the Charge is ungenerous and cruel. For

3. He asserts with the utmost Confidence, that ** so fond was this Patriarch of Egypt, so well persuaded that this was the Country God had given him, that he was ready to prostitute his own Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity, to secure himself a Settlement there.* I am almost tired already with a Controversy, in which I have little else to oppose, but Confidence and Assertion, in the Room of Reason and Argument. It will be observed, from what I have already said, that these Reasons which this Philosopher immorally assigns for *Abram's* Prostitution of his Wife, are drawn from a notorious Misrepresentation, as I have already shewn; viz. that *God did not tell Abram what the Land was that he had promised him till after his Return out of Egypt.* If God did expressly tell him 'twas the Land of *Canaan* by Name, then here are three more direct Falsehoods with which this immoral Writer is chargeable:

1. 'Tis false that *Abram* would have prostituted his Wife, thro' his Fondness for *Egypt*; for of this there is not one Word in the History.

2. 'Tis as false that he would have sacrificed her Chastity, thro' a full Persuasion that *Egypt* was the Country God had given him. For he knew God had given him the Land of *Canaan*.

3. 'Tis as notoriously false, that this Readiness to sacrifice his Wife to the Lust of *Egypt*, proceeded from a Desire to secure himself a Settlement there. For the History is express, that he went only to sojourn there upon Account of the Famine in *Egypt*, and he could not desire a Settlement there, because God himself had fixed it elsewhere. So far was he from desiring a Settlement there, or having a full Persuasion, that *Egypt* was the Country God had given him, that he was not even persuaded that he could sojourn there but for a little While, with Safety to himself or Wife, without the utmost Prudence and Caution. If he thought God had given him this Country, how came he so very ready to prostitute his Wife to procure a Settlement? Did he think that God would give it him as a Reward of such an infamous Conduct? No, the evident Reason of his Procedure was, to secure himself from their Cruelty, and his Wife from their Incontinence and Lust.

Nor were the Suspicions of *Abram* on this Head at all ill founded. For as soon as he came into *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* admired the Fairness of the Woman, and being commended before *Pharaoh* she was taken into his House. In what Manner she was taken is not described; but with Reluctance enough unquestionably on
their

their Parts, and with at least a Degree of Violence on the Part of the *Egyptians*. But as our Philosopher expresses it, * *by some Means or other, the Thing came known to Pharaoh before he had taken to this Hebrew Woman as his own Wife. Upon which the King sent for Abram, expostulated the Matter with him, represented how great a Sin he had like to have drawn him into, and ordered his Servants to send away the Patriarch out of the Country.* What the Means were by which *Pharaoh* came to know that *Sarai* was not only Sister but Wife to *Abram*, the Philosopher doth not care to mention, and therefore I will. The Historian tells us, that † *God inflicted some grievous Punishment on Pharaoh and his House*, because of *Sarai*; in the Hebrew, *struck him with*, or inflicted on him great Strokes. And I think this Circumstance is greatly in Favour of the Patriarch; since had he and his Wife been two such abandoned Wretches, he *as ready* to prostitute her, and she *as ready* to be prostituted, as our *Moralist* represents them, I cannot persuade myself to think, that the Providence of God would ever have interposed for her Preservation, or his Honour.

However the Disposition of the *Egyptian* Court and Prince is abundantly discoverd by this Incident. A fine Woman becomes immediately the Object of their Desires. The Princes commend her to *Pharaoh*, and *Pharaoh* as soon orders her into his House, and for what Intent

* Page 26.

† Gen. xii. 17.

he himself tells the Patriarch, viz. *to make her his Wife*, i. e. his Concubine. 'Tis a just Remark of Mr. * *Le Clerke*, in this Place: *It was an Argument of very intemperate Lust, to desire and seize on a stranger Woman, merely because she was commended for her Beauty.* Such a Temper and Conduct can never be justified, unless our Moralist imagines, that *Pharaoh* had a Right to enjoy every agreeable Woman that entered into *Egypt*. However 'tis plain that *Sarai* kept herself on the Defence, and did not submit to the lustful Monarch's Inclinations; which 'tis highly probable she would have done, to be revenged on her Husband, had she known him to be as ready to prostitute her, as our Moralist tells us he was; especially as she had the King of *Egypt* for her Admirer. But as she knew her Husband's Design too well, she had too much Honour herself, to commit such a Wickedness, and the Providence of God, on which *Abram* relied, took care to punish the Incontinence and leud Intention of *Pharaoh*; that when *Sarai's* Excuses for not complying with *Pharaoh* should be no longer able to secure her, the Secret of her being *Abram's* Wife might rescue her from the Injury intended her, without endangering his Life or Liberty.

But it seems all this whole Conduct in the Hebrew Patriarch was *Craft and Design*, and the

* Libidinis indomitæ fuit peregrinam mulierem, eo tantum quod forma ejus jactaretur, appetere & rapere. *Cler. in Gen.* xii. 17.

Egyptian * King was a Prince of strict Virtue, Honour and Clemency, and the Egyptians, 'till plain, at this Time were Worshipers of the true God. The Craft and Design of the Patriarch, as far as appears from the History, was only to preserve his own Life, and his Wife's Honour; two Designs that no Man but one of our Philosopher's Morality would ever censure. But whence doth *the strict Virtue of the Egyptian King* appear? From no other Instance in this History, but his immediately seizing on an agreeable Woman for his own Purposes, upon the Commendation of her Beauty; or parting with her, when the Providence of God would not suffer him to keep her any longer. Where was his Honour? Why taking away from a Stranger his supposed Sister, to make her his Concubine, and thus violating all the † sacred Laws of Hospitality. Where was his Clemency? Why in sending away the Patriarch with his Wife, &c. out of the Country. But this was the least Reparation he could make him, for his Intention to debauch his Sister. Nor even was this done voluntarily. He seized on her thro' Inclination, but he parted with her thro' Force, and thro' the Compulsion of divine Judgments; and I am firmly persuaded, that notwithstanding the boasted Virtue and Clemency of this King,

* Page 27.

† Βραχυ φροντισας αιδης, κ' νομων, των επι τιμη ξενων, επιδευντων, ενδ'ας ακρασια, διενεπειτο. λογω μεν, αυτην αγαγεσθαι προς γαμον, το δ' αληδες, αιχυνειν. Phil. de Abrah. p. 284.

Abraham

Abram had felt his Indignation, had not some peculiar Providence extricated him from this Danger; and that without some special divine Protection, such a Disappointment of a lustful Prince would have drawn after it a severe Revenge. So that here is no Appearance of Clemency, any more than there is of Virtue or Honour. But such is the Morality of our Philosopher, that intemperate Lust, Violence, and the Breach of Hospitality, shall be consistent with strict Virtue, Honour and Clemency in the *Egyptian* King; whilst the mere Concealment of one Truth, by the affirming of another, for the Preservation of Life and Honour, shall be censured as *a crafty Lye*, and *a Readiness to prostitute his Wife, and sacrifice her Chastity*, in the *Hebrew* Patriarch.

But every Thing is extraordinary and *marvellous* in this Philosophical Writer. *This*, says he, * *is a plain Proof, that the Egyptians at this Time were Worshipers of the true God. This: What? Why, that the Egyptians admired the Beauty of the Woman, and mentioned her to Pharaoh: for this is the only Thing that he hath affirmed of the Egyptians in the whole Paragraph; and if it be a Reason, is the acutest one that ever was given by a Philosopher before. Or else, Pharaoh came to know that Sarai was Abram's Wife, and then expostulated with Abram, told him how great a Sin he had like to have drawn him into, and ordered his Ser-*

* Page 27.

wants to send him out of the Country. Ergo, the Egyptians were at this Time Worshipers of the true God? Was there ever such a Conclusion from such Premises before? The only Thing that looks likely to support such an Inference is, that he told him how great a Sin he had like to have drawn him into. But it unluckily happens, that all this is Interpolation by the Philosopher's Hand, and that there is nothing about great Sins, in the Mouth of *Pharaoh*, in the original History. This is a Speech that the Philosopher hath coined for him. And if it had been really Part of what *Pharaoh* had said to him, how will it prove that the Egyptians were Worshipers of the true God? Is not Adultery known to be a Crime even by the worst Idolaters? Or doth it follow, that because *Pharaoh*, our Author's Hero, was in his Account, a Man of strict Virtue and Honour, that therefore the Egyptians were no Idolaters? The Argument is absurd, and the Thing itself is highly improbable, and incapable of all possible Proof. There is indeed every Appearance to the contrary. * *Abraham's* Father and Family we know were Idolaters; so that this Superstition was ancients than the Times of *Abraham*, and had unquestionably spread itself into *Egypt*; there being no Reason to suppose the Posterity of *Cham* were freer from this Wickedness than the Family of *Shem*. Whilst the Children of *Israel* dwelt amongst them in *Egypt*, 'tis certain that Idolatry pre-

* Josh. xxiv. 2.

vailed amongst them, and even that of the most stupid Kind, the Worship of Beasts; and that this is spoken of not as a Novelty, but as an ancient establish'd common Practice amongst them. *We shall sacrifice*, says, Moses *the Abomination of the Egyptians*; * an Ox or Calf, or some other Creature which the *Egyptians* hold sacred, and abominated the Sacrifice of; from whence nothing can be more evident, than that even this stupid Idolatry had been of long standing amongst them. And 'tis agreed by all Writers, that Idolatry had the most early Footing in *Egypt*, and was from thence propagated into many other Nations of the World. But whatever be the Truth of this Fact, our Author's Reasons to prove the *Egyptians* no Idolaters are childish and impertinent, and can carry no Weight with any one, but just such another Philosopher as himself. The Fact itself, shall be hereafter, God willing, more particularly inquired into.

He concludes this whole Account with an Assertion, † that could fall from no Man's Pen, but one of his *extreme Modesty* and *Veracity*. *The Reader will find this whole Story as I have here represented it*, in *Gen. xii.* whereas *Gen. xii.* doth not represent one single Circumstance as he hath told it, but demonstrates his whole Account to be Forgery and Romance.

* *Exod. viii. 26.*

† *Vol. III. Page 27.*

S E C T. IV.

Of the Promises made by God to Abraham of the Land of Canaan.

ABRAM * *being thus driven out of Egypt, † goes back again into Canaan, and being, as our learned Author tells us, upon the Mountains of Philistia, afterwards called the Amorite Mountains, from the Canaanites, God ordered him to look round the whole Country then in View, from the River Jordan to the great Sea, and promised to settle his Posterity after him in the everlasting peaceable Possession of the whole Land, which Promise was afterwards repeated several Times to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob under an Oath, as the Hebrew Historian assures us. But, says he, the Truth of it may be very well doubted, since no such Promise or Prophecy was ever made good, and God must have known very well that he never intended any such Thing: And 'tis plain enough, that whatever was afterwards trumped up about Canaan, the real Design of this Hebrew Nation from first to last was upon Egypt.*

I have been looking a long while in my Bible, for *these Mountains of Philistia, afterwards called the Amorite Mountains from the Canaanites*, and for this same Promise of God, that the Philosopher here talks of; but I cannot for my Life find one or other of them. We find

* Page 27.

† Page 28.

indeed *Abram*, sometime after his coming out of *Egypt*, settled in the Land of *Canaan*, * but in what Part of it the Historian doth not relate ; and that he had there an Assurance from God, that he would give to him and to his Seed all the Land that he could see, North and South, East and West, for ever. But not one Word about *Jordan* and the great Sea, nor about the peaceable Possession of that Land forever ; nor can I find one Passage in the whole Bible, where God promised in these Terms, with or without an Oath, to *Abraham*, *Isaack* or *Jacob*, the Land from this same *Jordan* to the Great Sea. I shall be obliged to the Philosopher for this Information. † I know very well the *Amorites* are said to dwell in the Mountains, and particularly at *Hebron*, and East and West of *Jordan*. But where about this *Amorite* Mountain in *Philistia* was, where *Abram* could see the whole Land, from *Jordan* to the great or *Mediterranean* Sea, will be a Discovery worthy of this philosophical Genius. He might with equal Exactness have sent his Reader to look for the *Wrekin* amongst the Hills in *Cornwall*, and when challenged for the *Blunder*, vindicate himself by saying, he means *Shropshire* or *England* by *Cornwall*. Could any such *Amorite Philistian* Hill be found, I would not dispute with him the Possibility of *Abram's* seeing the Country from *Jordan* to the Great or *Mediterranean* Sea, tho' not one Word of any such Prospect is in the

* Gen. xiii. 14.

† Numb. xiii. 29.

Original History. But so well acquainted is the Philosopher with the Prospects of *Canaan*, and particularly with his favourite *Amorite Hill* in *Philistia*; that not content to give *Abram* the Prospect from it from *Jordan* to the *Mediterranean Sea*, he tells us, * that *he could see the whole Country, from Sidon to Sin or the River of Egypt*, that *vast Country*, as he calls it, from *Sidon* to the *Nile*, which is the River of *Egypt*, one hundred eighty Miles, the whole Length of *Canaan*. And for this the *learned Author* quotes *Gen. xiii.* where yet there is not one Word about *Sidon* or *Sin*, nor of the Limits of the Prospect that was before him. A *notable Prospect* this for an old Man of eighty or ninety; who could see farther than ever was seen before or since, over Hills and Mountains, Vales, Dales, Plains and Deserts, without any Thing to bound or intercept his View. But not to disturb the Philosopher in his Contemplations from this *wonderful Hill* of miraculous Vision:

He must be allowed to intrench himself in a Kind of † *impenetrable Darknes*s in the learned Remark, that *the Mountains of Philistia were afterwards called Amorite Mountains from the Canaanites*. ‡ He hath the same *hypercritical Note* again, according to his usual Custom of repeating twice or thrice almost every Thing that is *peculiarly curious*. *Abraham took the Mountains of Palestine, afterwards called the Amorite Mountains, when the Canaanites had settled there.* But

* Page 231.

† Page 28.

‡ Page 231.

how were these Mountains called *Amorite* from the *Canaanites*? What doth the Name *Amorite* come from *Canaanite*? By what Sort of *Conjuration* doth he make this *Etymology*? Or were they called *Amorite* Mountains from the *Canaanites* calling them so? This is false, because the * *Emorite* or *Amorite* were some of the original Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and the Posterity of *Canaan* himself, and therefore could not derive their Name from a People that came into the Land of *Canaan* after them. † Our Author indeed, with an *unparalleled Assurance* tells us: ‡ *In short there were no such People as the Amorites or Canaanite Mountaineers in Abraham's Time, nor for a long Time after; and therefore the Pretence of not driving them out, must have been a Forgery or Interpolation of later Ages.* Would one not have expected some Proof of a Charge of this Nature? He hath none, and can bring none. He might as well have questioned the Truth of *Canaan's* being the Son of *Ham*, or of the *Emorite* or *Amorite* being descended from *Canaan*, and have charged this Account with being *Forgery and Interpolation*. The Promise of God to *Abram*, in which that Passage is included, *because the Iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full*, if there can be proof of any Thing, certainly proves that the *Amorites* were then in *Canaan*, and that they were a very wicked People too, unless this Author

* Gen. x. 16.

† Page 236.

‡ Page 235.

can prove his *Interpolation*. But I know he can't. For before this, the Historian informs us, * that *Chedorlaomer*, and the Kings with him, *smote the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon Tamer*, † which is Engedi, situated in the Tribe of *Judah*, where the *Amorites* dwelt. Yea *Abram* at this very Time, ‡ *dwelt in the Plain of Mamre the Amorite, Brother of Eshcol, and Brother of Aner*, who were confederate with him. Is this Forgery and Interpolation too? After *Abraham*, we read of them in the Time of *Jacob*; § for he before his Descent into *Egypt*, took a Portion from the *Amorite* with his Sword and his Bow. And as the Name *Amorite* can never be derived from the *Canaanite*, but is the very same with the *Emorite* mentioned as the Son of *Canaan*, the *Emorites* must have been some of the original Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and settled there some Ages before *Abram*. When our Critick calls the *Amorites*, *Canaanite Mountaineers*, 'tis just as good Sense as if he should call the *Highlanders of Scotland*, *Welch Mountaineers*. § For tho' their Countries were not quite so far distant, yet were the *Amorites* as different from the *Canaanites*, ** and ever spoken of as a distinct People from them.

He intrenches himself in something worse than *Darkness*, when he asserts, that *no such Promise or Prophecy*, viz. that God would give the whole Country, from the River *Jordan* to

* Gen. xiv. 7. † 2 Chron. xx. 2. ‡ Gen. xiv. 13.
 § Gen. xliii. 22. § Gen. x. 16, 18. ** Gen. xv. 21. &c.
 the

the Great Sea, to his Posterity, *was ever made good, and that God must have known he never intended any such Thing.* For God I think did intend it, because, tho' he never made any Promise in our Author's Terms to *Abram*, yet he did in much larger ones, and actually made it good.

But as our Philosopher lays great Stress on this Affair, and takes God Almighty, according to his usual Freedom, roundly to task, puts Words into his Mouth, and tells him what ** he must know*, and what *he must intend*; as, with a *Politeness* peculiar to himself, he tells us, *the Appearances of God to Abraham were only Dreams, and that the Event proved them to be Dreams*, and that *† the whole was a trump up Story*: Yea, as he so far debases the Dignity of Controversy, as to descend to the opprobrious, *foul-mouth'd* Language of *‡ Liar and Impostor*, upon this Article: It will be proper to set these Promises in as clear a Light, as we can, and then particularly to compare them with the Account given by this learned and moral Writer, as farther Specimens of his great Modesty, untainted Integrity, and peculiar Regard to and Love of Truth.

The first Promise God gave to *Abram*, was immediately on his coming into the Land of *Canaan*, and is only couched in general Terms: *¶ Unto thy Seed will I give this Land.* The next Promise was more explicit. *§ Lift up now thine Eyes, and look from the Place where thou art,*

* Page 90.

† Page 28.

‡ Page 234.

¶ Gen. xii. 7.

§ Gen. xiii. 14. &c.

*North, South, East, and West ; for all the Land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy Seed forever. Arise, walk thro' the Land in the Length of it, and in the Breadth of it ; for I will give it unto thee. After this, the Promise is renewed with farther Particulars. * Know of a Surety, that thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred Years, afterwards they shall come out with great Substance, but in the fourth Generation they shall come hither again. Unto thy Seed have I given this Land, from the River of Egypt unto the great River Euphrates: The Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaims, the Amonites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. 'Tis repeated afterwards in these Terms : † I will give unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee, the Land wherein thou art a Stranger, all the Land of Canaan, for an everlasting Possession. 'Tis also with Relation to the same Promise, ‡ that God says to Abraham with an Oath: Thy Seed shall possess the Gate of his Enemies. I think these are all the Promises of the Land of Canaan, that the Historian records, that God made to this venerable Patriarch. Isaac after him had a Confirmation of this Grant, in these Words: || Sojourn in this Land, for unto thee, and unto thy Seed, I will give all these Countries. The Promise was afterwards renewed*

* Gen. xv. 13. &c.

† xvii. 8.

‡ xxii. 17.

|| xxvi. 3.

to Jacob : * *The Land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy Seed.* And again: *The Land which I gave Abraham, and Isaac, † to thee will I give it : And to thy Seed after thee will I give the Land.* And lastly, upon Jacob's going down to *Egypt*, God appeared to him in a Vision, and said, ‡ *I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again.* These are all the Passages I think that relate to this Affair; and from them thus put together I beg leave to make the following Observations.

I. Concerning the Extent of the Country promised. Particularly *as far as Abram could see,* ¶ from one of the Hills of *Canaan, North and South, East and West.* How far that was, nobody now knows, but the Moral Philosopher, who, with § *great Sagacity*, hath described the Prospect to an Inch, and nam'd the Mountain from whence he took the View. The Country is however more particularly described in another Place, *viz.* the Land ** *from the River of Egypt unto the Great River Euphrates.* Whether by *this River* is meant the *Nile*, as some learned Writers think, or as others, a Torrent or River at *Rinocolura*, a great Way northward of *Nile*, that separated *Egypt* from *Canaan*, I will not dispute; but leave the Philosopher to take his Choice. 'Tis evident by this Description, that this River of *Egypt* is here described, as the utmost South Boundary of the Land, the *Israelites* were

* Gen. xxviii. 13.

† xxxv. 12.

‡ xlv. 4.

¶ Gen. xiii. 14, &c.

§ Page 231.

** xv. 18.

to possess; † and that from hence their Dominions were to extend Northwards towards the *Euphrates*. This fixes the utmost Limits, beyond which they were not allowed to make Settlements or attempt any Conquests. And what Part, and how much of the Country within these Bounds they were to possess, is immediately described and determined by the original Promise. The *Kenites*, *Kenizzites*, *Kadmonites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Rephaim*, *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Girgashites*, and *Jebusites*. Hence when the Promise is next renewed to *Abram*, 'tis in these Terms: ‡ *I will give unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee, the Land wherein thou art a Stranger, all the Land of Canaan for an everlasting Possession*; agreeable to the first Promise; || *unto thy Seed will I give this Land*, viz. the Land of *Canaan*. So that *Abraham* could not possibly understand any Thing else, by that Assurance of the Land, from the River of *Egypt* to the *Euphrates*; but the Country of *Canaan* properly so called, situated between those two Rivers, and inhabited by those Nations that are particularly mentioned to him. The very Terms, in which this Promise is convey'd, absolutely confine us to this Sense. נָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת מִנְהַר מִצְרַיִם אֶת־הַקֵּינִי. *I will give thee this Land from the River of Egypt, &c. even the Kenite &c.* For *this Land* and *the Kenite* are put in *Apposition* to each other: And therefore, the *Kenite*, the *Kenizzite* &c. must de-

† xv. 47.

‡ Gen. xvii. 8.

|| x. 7.

termine the particular Land, between the *Nile* and *Euphrates*, that was meant by the Words: *This Land will I give thee*. If then it can fairly be proved, that the *Israelites* possessed, and had under their Dominion, the whole Country of these ten Nations, which they inhabited between *Sibor* and the *Euphrates*, I presume every reasonable Person will allow, that this Promise of God to *Abram*, was literally and abundantly made good; for these ten Nations, and the Land of *Canaan* determine and fix down the Grant. But I would farther observe,

2. That these Promises did convey a Right of Possession, * Dominion or Property in this Country, from *Sibor* to the River *Euphrates*, so much of it as these Nations inhabited, to *Abram*, *Isaack* and *Jacob*, and their Posterity after them. Thus much must be included in the Words so often repeated: *I will give to thee*, and *I have given to thy Seed after thee*; which unquestionably imply a full Grant of Inheritance, or a Conveyance of the Property to them. Our Philosopher may dispute this Grant of God if he sees fit, and exclaim against it as absurd and contradictory. I allow the Thing, and leave him here to make the best of it. But

3. Farther, these Promises do also imply, not only a mere Right of Inheritance and Possession, that might or might not take place; but also that *Abram* and *Isaack* and *Jacob* and their

* Vid. *Reland, Palest.* p. 20.

Posterity should actually dwell, and be settled in this Country, in Virtue of these Grants. Thus much is unquestionably intended, in the Words *I will give*; especially as joined with: *They shall come hither again*. And these promises were abundantly fulfilled. *Abraham*, tho' without a single Field in the whole Country, save one that he purchased of the Children of *Heth*, yet peaceably possessed it for an hundred Years, maintaining himself, large Family, and numerous Flocks in it without Interruption, died and was buried in it, and left *Ijaack* his Son in quiet Possession of it. He dwelt in it one hundred and eighty Years without much Disturbance, tho' envied for his Prosperity by the *Philstines* * in whose Land he sojourned, changing his Situation, and choosing out what Pasturages he pleased. To him succeeded *Jacob* and his Family, who maintained their Station in it till the going down into *Egypt*; and tho' *Simeon* and *Levi* by the Murther of the *Hivites*, gave *Jacob* too much Reason to complain: † *Ye have troubled me to make me stink amongst the Inhabitants of the Land, amongst the Canaanites and Perizzites, and I being few in Number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me, and I shall be destroyed I and my House*; yet after so cruel and treacherous an Action, *Jacob* still kept Possession of *Canaan*, and as he sojourned from Place to Place, ‡ *the Terrour of God was upon the Cities that were round about them*,

* Gen. xxxiv. 30.

† xxxv. 5.

and they did not persue after the Sons of Jacob. And I think every impartial Person must acknowledge something very extraordinary in the Case of these three Patriarchs, who for considerably above two hundred Years freely maintained themselves and numerous Families and Flocks in this Country, where they were absolute Strangers, and could pretend to no Right of Inheritance, without meeting any Interruption from the Inhabitants or Cities round about them. This shews the Promise of God was made good to them Personally, to *give them this Land for an everlasting Inheritance*. In like Manner, he brought their Posterity out of *Egypt*, and notwithstanding the Opposition of all the Nations of *Canaan*, introduced them into the Country, and settled them in the Possession of it; where they became a strong and powerful Nation, and from whence the original Possessors could never after possibly expel them. And as the Countries they held were abundantly sufficient for the whole *Hebrew* Nation, the Promises of God to *give them this Land* were fulfilled, not in a *Dream* only, but in *Reality*, and according to their true Meaning, even tho' they did not actually occupy every Field from *Sibor* to *Euphrates*.

4. For these Promises cannot, in their natural or *literal Sense*, be so understood, as to imply, that they should possess so as *actually to inhabit and occupy, the whole Land from the River of*
G Egypt

Egypt to the Euphrates. For the Promise was in these Terms: נתתי *I have given unto thy Seed this Land from the River of Egypt, to the great River Euphrates*; Words that can be understood in no other possible Sense than of the Grant of the Right of Inheritance and Dominion; otherwise 'twould be a Promise that his Seed should possess and inhabit it before they were born. The original Word נתתי is frequently used in this double Sense; either to give any Thing into a Person's immediate Use. Abraham gave Gifts to his Sons. Gen. xxv. 6. Or else, to put any Places or Persons under another's Dominion and Power. † Ye shall be deliver'd, given, into the Hand of the Enemy; i. e. as the Event shew'd, deliver'd, given into the Hands of the Kings of the Lands, to the Sword, Captivity, Spoil, and Confusion of Face. Thus Rabshakeh to the Jews: || Let not Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying, this City shall not be deliver'd נתתי given into the Hand of the King of Assyria; i. e. reduced under his Power, and made tributary to him. Which of these two Senses, or whether both of them, were included in the Promise, Abraham himself could not tell, and nothing but the Event could determine. And if they did possess themselves as much of this Country as they needed, if they dwelt peaceably and quietly, as their Forefathers did, in many or all the Parts of it, and held the rest as tributary, and subject to their Power; God

† Levit. xxvi. 25. Ezr. ix. 7. || Isai. xxxvi. 15.

did *properly* give this Country to *Abraham's* Seed, in as full and ample a Manner, as these Promises foretold he would. The River of *Egypt* to the South, and *Euphrates* to the North, were the utmost Boundaries of their Possessions and Dominion, beyond which they were not to attempt any Settlements or Conquests. Thus far, and no farther their Grant reached, and all that can be meant by this Description is, not to point out what they actually should occupy, but what they justifiably, and agreeable to the Divine Grant, might endeavour to occupy; and should, sooner or later, possess, or extend their Dominion over.

It should also be observed, that whatever the Grant of the promised Land implied, that Grant was made to *Abraham*, and *Isaack*, and *Jacob*, as well as to their Posterity. *To thee will I give the Land wherein thou art a Stranger*, says God to *Abraham*; and accordingly, *Isaack* describes it * as *the Land* which God actually gave to *Abraham*. *Isaack* himself had the same Grant. *Sojourn in this Land, for unto thee will I give all these Countries.*† And *Jacob*: *The Land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it.*‡ The Grant was to them equally with their Posterity. And yet these Patriarchs had not so much as any *actual Property* in this Country, save of a Field or two which they purchased. How then did God actually give it them? Why, by Grant as their Right, and for their actual Use and Con-

* Gen. xxviii. 4. † Gen. xxvi. 3. ‡ Gen. xxviii. 13.

venience, as much of it as they needed and desired, even whilst they were Strangers in it. So that they were the rightful Proprietors of it, and went from Place to Place, enjoying the Fruits of it, as proper Lords of the Country, even tho' it never came into their actual Possession. In like Manner, their Posterity had the same Grant from the same Boundaries, were introduced into it, and fixed in it as their own Possession ; enjoy'd as much of it as their Numbers required, and were proper Lords of the Whole of it ; and therefore had the Divine Promises absolutely fulfilled to them, in the true and proper Meaning of them ; and that in a fuller and more ample Sense, than the Patriarchs, their Forefathers, had, who yet were as truly interested in the Grant as themselves, and had as really the Benefit of it.

5. I would remark farther, that this Grant of God necessarily supposed, that the Persons favoured with it should use their own Endeavours to secure it ; and that the *Israelites* not enjoying this Land in its full Extent, if it happened thro' their own Indolence and Neglect, cannot in Reason and Equity be construed as a Breach of Promise in God. Should this learned Physician, to compare great Things with *very small Ones*, promise to cure a poor Patient with a Pill ; would his Credit suffer, or his Veracity be questioned, if the Patient should die thro' Refusal to take it ? When the *Israelites* came into *Canaan*, and had enlarged their Conquests

so far, as to procure for themselves a sufficient Settlement ; tired out with the Fatigues of War, they were glad to sit down quietly, and enjoy the Fruits of Peace, without any Inclination to make unnecessary Acquisitions, or pursue their Rights to the utmost Boundaries of their Grant ; yea, before the whole Nation had procured sufficient Settlements. This appears from *Joshua's* rebuking the *Israelites* : * *How long are ye slack to go to possess the Land which the Lord God of your Fathers hath given you ?* And when afterwards they fell into the Idolatries of the Nations around them, 'tis evident they lost all Spirit and Courage, had no Thoughts of driving out the Nations that dwelt in their Country, and were scarce able to maintain themselves in their own Possessions. But was the Grant of God ever the less real, because they neglected to assert it ; or by falling into the Corruptions of the Nations around them, rendered themselves incapable of obtaining it ? The Grant remained what it originally was, and they might have enjoy'd it in its largest Extent, had it not been for their own Obstinacy and Folly. It should not however be forgotten, that *David*, by subduing the *Philistines* on the South, and *Hadadexar*, † King of *Zobab*, at the River *Euphrates*, obtain'd this Promise in its full Extent. And of *Solomon* 'tis expressly remark'd ; that ‡ *he reigned over all the Kings, from the River, that is Euphrates, even*

* Josh. xviii. 3.
† 2 Chron. ix. 26.

† 2 Sam. viii. 1, 3. & x. 18, 19.

unto the *Land of the Philistines, and to the Border of Egypt*. Of this Extent of Country they had a perpetual Grant, but that they should have the continual Possession of it, is no where said, no nor so much as intimated. Besides, there were certain Conditions on which the Prosperity of the *Israelites*, and particularly their Success over their Enemies greatly depended ; and these were, their constant Acknowledgment of the God of *Abraham*, and their keeping his Statutes and Commandments. This is more than intimated by God himself. * *Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty Nation ; for I know him that he will command his Children and his Household after him ; and they shall keep, or as the prefix ' is render'd in many Places, that they keep the Way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham, that which he hath spoken of him ;* in which Words, the very Accomplishment of the Promises to *Abraham*, are made to depend on his own good Conduct ; and the Prosperity of his House, on their *keeping the Way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment*. And therefore, God tells the People at Mount Sinai, that † *if they would keep his Covenant, they should be a peculiar Treasure to him above all People*. And with this Limitation all these Promises were understood by the *Jews* themselves, as might be shewn by many Passages from the Sacred Writings. I would farther add,

* Gen. xviii. 19. † Exod. xix. 5.

6. That the *Israelites* themselves were abundantly convinced, that God had fulfilled all his Promises to them, and that long before they had extended their Dominion from *Sibor*, or *Nile*, to *Euphrates*; viz. by their Introduction into, and Settlement in the Land of *Canaan*, in Opposition to their Enemies. Thus the Author of the Book of *Joshua*: * *The Lord gave unto Israel all the Land which he sware to give unto their Fathers, את כל הארץ, the whole Country, and they possessed it, and dwelt therein. And the Lord gave them Rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their Fathers, and there stood not a Man of all their Enemies before them: The Lord deliver'd all their Enemies into their Hands. There failed not ought of any good Thing, which the Lord had spoken unto the House of Israel: All came to pass. And † Joshua, just before his Death, appeals to the Israelites themselves: Behold this Day I am going the Way of all the Earth, and ye know in all your Hearts, and in all your Souls, that not one Thing hath failed of all the good Things which the Lord your God spoke concerning you: All are come to pass unto you, and not one Thing hath failed thereof. And in particular, as the Promise to Abraham, that God would give unto his Seed the Land, from the River of Egypt unto the River Euphrates, is immediately explained, by the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, Hittites, Perizzites, Rephaim, Amorites, Canaanites, Gergashites and Jebusites; so ‡ Joshua particu-*

* Josh. xxi. 43, 44, 45. † Josh. xxiii. 14. ‡ Josh. xxiv. 11. Nehem. ix. 8.

larly takes Notice, that the *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Girgashites*, *Hivites* and *Jebusites*, God deliver'd into their Hand, and gave them a Land for which they did not labour, and Cities which they built not, and they dwelt in them. As for the other Names mention'd in the Grant to *Abraham*, that are omitted by *Joshua*, the *Kenites*, *Kenizzites*, *Kadmonites* and *Rephaim*, they seem to have been smaller Tribes, intermixt with the larger Nations, and who therefore are included under them, and shared the same Fate in common with them, upon the Conquest of *Canaan*. Thus the *Rephaim** were mixed with the *Perizzites*, and their City *Ashteroth*† possessed by the Family of *Machir*, the Son of *Manasseh*; ‡ tho' a great Part of them had been before destroy'd by *Cbedorlaomer*, and the Kings confederate with him. The § *Kenites* were amongst the *Amalekites*, who were made subject to *Israel* by *Saul*, and partly destroy'd by ** *David* after him, when he invaded the *Amalekites*, and who thereby enlarged the Conquests of *Israel* down to *Egypt*. The *Kadmonites* signify the *Eastern People*, and probably denote those situated on the East of *Jordan*, whose Land was conquered and possessed by the *Israelites*. The *Kenizzites* are no where else mention'd but in this Grant to *Abraham*, and were either destroy'd between the

* Josh. xvii. 15.
 § 1 Sam. xv. 6.

† Josh. xiii. 31.
 ** 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 10.

‡ Gen. xiv. 5.

Time of this Promise to him, as the learned *Bochart* † conjectures, and the *Jews* Entrance into *Canaan*, or too inconsiderable to be mention'd in the Account of their Conquests.

7. I would observe, that these original Promises of God to the Patriarchs, mention not one single Word of the Destruction and utter Extirpation of the People, whose Land was given to them ; nor whether they, or their Posterity, were to be put into Possession of it all at once, or gradually : And that therefore if any Part of these Nations remained in it, after the *Israelites* took Possession of it, 'tis not at all inconsistent with the Grant which these Promises convey'd. And therefore I acknowledge, that as these different Nations were all in *Canaan*, during the Lives of the Patriarchs ; so also after the Conquest by their Posterity, the *Philistines*, *Jebusites*, *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites* and *Hivites*, dwelt amongst them. But then, 'tis plain from the History, that the *Israelites* made them Tributaries, and put them as conquered Nations to servile Employments. And tho' they oftentimes rose up in Arms against their Masters, and were made use of by the Providence of God to punish them for their Apostacy, and idolatrous Practices ; yet could they never either destroy or dispossess them from their Conquests. And 'tis as certain, that as soon as ever they repented and turned unto God, they were crowned with Success, and brought their

† Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36.

Enemies into thorow Subjection; till at length under their Kings, from *David* and *Solomon*, thro' a long Succession of them, 'tis particularly remarked by the Writers of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, that * *as for all the People, that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel, but of their Children who were left after them in the Land, whom the Children of Israel consumed not, them did Solomon make to pay Tribute unto this Day.* And of the Extent of his Kingdom, 'tis particularly remark'd, that he † *reigned over all the Kings, from the River, viz. the Euphrates, even unto the Land of the Philistines, and to the Border of Egypt.* And 'tis a Circumstance peculiarly remarkable, that after *David* and *Solomon*, these Nations never once, as I remember, gave the *Jews* any Disturbance by rising in Rebellion against them. The *Philistines* indeed once or twice join'd the *Arabians* and *Edomites*, who lay near to them, and invaded the Cities of *Israel*, under the Reigns of those idolatrous Princes, *Jehoram* and *Ahaz*: But as this Nation was never mentioned in the original Grants to the Patriarchs, so they were soon reduced into Obedience again by *Uzziah*, ‡ who took from them *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, and *Ashdod*, and built Cities in their Territories to curb them; and by *Hezekiah*, upon his Reformation from the Idola-

* 1 Kin. ix. 21. 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8. † 2 Chron. ix. 26.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, 7.

tries of his Father : Yea, this Country of *Philistia* was not only tributary to the *Jews*, and some of their Cities in their Possession ; but they were spread over the Land, even to its utmost Limits, and had peaceable Possessions and Habitations throughout it. Thus *Solomon*, at the Time of the Dedication of the * Temple, held a Feast, *and all Israel with him, from the Entering in of Hemath, unto the River of Egypt.* And *David* before him, even before he had made any considerable Conquests, thus speaks to the Congregation : † *Let us send abroad to our Brethren every where, that are left in all the Land of Israel, that they may gather themselves unto us.* And *David* gathered all Israel together, from *Sihor of Egypt, even unto the Entering of Hemath.* And when *David* ‡ numbered the People, *Joab* and the Captains came to *Dan-Jaan*, and about to *Zidon*, and came to the strong Hold of *Tyre*, and to all the Cities of the *Hivites*, and of the *Canaanites*, and to the South of *Judah*, to *Beershebah* ; and having thus gone thro' all the Land, returned to *Jerusalem*. These are Passages that evidently prove, that the *Israelites*, before *David's* Time, had thus spread themselves thro' the utmost Bounds of the Land of *Canaan*, to *Zidon*, *Tyre*, and § *Hemath*, being the uttermost Limits of that Country Northward, as *Sihor* was to the South.

* 1 Kin. viii. 65. † 1 Chron. xiii. 5. ‡ 2 Sam. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8. § Numb. xiii. 21. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 325.
Nor

Nor will the Philosopher ever get rid of these Passages, without meanly insinuating Interpolations and Forgeries, which I am sure he hath neither Learning nor Authority sufficient to support. So entire was their Conquest and Sovereignty over this Land, even from the utmost Boundaries of it, the River of *Egypt* from the South, up to *Lebanon* towards *Euphrates* on the North, as that the whole Country was actually in their Possession for many Ages; either as inhabited by themselves, or tributary to their Power. And upon the Whole, I appeal to the unprejudiced Part of Mankind, *the Moral Philosopher*, and *his Retailers* I always except out of this Number, whether the Promises of God to *Abraham*, *Unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee, will I give all this Land*, were not literally made good, by his Posterity's being brought into it, settled in it, enjoying as large a Portion of it as their numerous Tribes could occupy, and by their retaining all the Remains of the conquered Nations as their Dependants and Tributaries.

8. The Promises of God to *Abram* point out the Period, when the Beginning of their Accomplishment was to take Place, with Respect to his Posterity, and before which they were not to expect, as a Nation, to make any Advances towards the Land of *Canaan*. *Know of a Surety, that thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four Hundred Years; and also*

also that Nation whom they shall serve will I judge. Afterwards they shall come out with great Substance, but in the fourth Generation they shall come hither again. Unto thy Seed have I given this Land. Or, as the Hebrew Words are literally rendered, *But the fourth Generation shall return hither.* The Reader will remark, that according to this Prediction *Abraham's* Seed were to be Strangers in a Land that was not theirs ; they were to serve a People, and to be afflicted by them full four hundred Years ; *i. e.* four hundred Years were to be compleated, during which Period, these three Things were to happen : That his Posterity were to be Strangers, in a foreign Land, they were to serve the People of a foreign Land, and to suffer great Hardship and Oppression from them ; and besides this, the Nation that particularly oppressed them were to be judged, *i. e.* punished by God. These four hundred Years were dated from the Birth of *Isaack*, who with *Jacob* and his Posterity continued Strangers in the Land where they sojourned, till the Deliverance from *Egypt*. When these four hundred Years were compleated, their Affliction and Servitude were to be entirely at an End, by the Punishment of their Oppressors, and they were to come out, *viz.* from the Land of their Oppression, *with great Substance* ; but not to be brought immediately into the Land of *Canaan*. Of this there is neither Word, nor Intimation in the Promise. Nevertheless, *the fourth Generation* were to be brought up into it :
In

In the fourth Generation they shall come hither again ; דור רביעי ישוב הנה . The literal Rendering is : *And the fourth Generation shall return hither ; i. e. come out of the Land of their Oppression, and return to this Country. Not one Word of being settled in it, and enjoying the Whole of it from Sibor to Euphrates. The fourth Generation* here unquestionably means the Posterity of *Jacob*, in their fourth Descent after their going down into *Egypt*. And this is the natural and general Sense of the original Word דור, which denotes strictly and properly that Period and Revolution of Years, by which the Life of Man is circumscribed, or a Generation and Succession of Men from Father to Son, and is so used in many Places ; and the Place is thus understood by the best *Jewish* Interpreters, *Jonathan*, *Jarchi*, and others. And the Expression of coming again, or *returning hither*, fixes the Date of this fourth Generation, to commence from the Time of *Abraham's* Seed going out of it. Now *Abraham's* Seed never went out of it, to dwell in a Land and serve Strangers, till *Jacob* and his Posterity went down into *Egypt*. And therefore the fourth Generation must mean, his Posterity in the fourth Descent, after their leaving the Land of *Canaan*. And this is farther evident, because otherwise the Prophecy would contradict itself ; the Seed of *Abram* not being to come out from the Land of their Oppression till *after four hundred Years* ; and therefore, *in the fourth Generation*

neration can never mean, *within four hundred Years*, unless the Philosopher imagines, they could enter into *Canaan*, before ever they came out of *Egypt*. Two distinct Things are here spoken of, their coming out of *Egypt*, and their coming into the Land of *Canaan*; and two distinct Periods of Time fixed, in which each of these Events should take place. They were to come out of *Egypt* four hundred Years from the Time *Abram* and his Seed were Strangers in a Land not theirs; and they were to return into *Canaan* in the fourth Generation or Succession of Men from their going into *Egypt*. And all this exactly happened according to the Prediction. For from the Birth of *Isaack* to the Deliverance from *Egypt*, were just four hundred Years. At *Jacob's* Birth *Isaack* was sixty Years old. When *Jacob* went into *Egypt* he was one hundred and thirty, which make one hundred ninety Years. And they were in *Egypt* two hundred and ten, which together make exactly four hundred. And the fourth Generation of Persons from this Descent returned to, and some of them entered into *Canaan*. *Kobath* entered into *Egypt*, *Amran* his Son was Father of *Aaron*, whose Son *Eleazar* entered into *Canaan*, and who with *Joshua* divided the Country to the *Israelites*. Again, *Judab* entered with *Jacob* into *Egypt*. His Son *Pharez* was Father to *Hesron*, whose Son *Caleb* had a Possession in *Canaan* amongst the Children of *Judab*. So fully verified was every Part of this
antient

antient Prophecy. And agreeably hereto the sacred Historian takes Notice: * *That it came to pass, that at the End of four hundred and thirty Years even the self-same Day it came to pass, that all the Hosts of the Lord went out from the Land of Egypt.* From the Birth of *Isaack* to the coming out of *Egypt* was exactly four hundred Years. From *Abrams* Entrance into the Land of *Canaan* to *Isaack's* Birth was twenty five. And therefore from his leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, to his coming into *Canaan* must be five, which together make up the four hundred and thirty.

9. The Promises of God to *Abraham* declare, that he would give the Land of *Canaan* to him, and to his Seed forever, and for an everlasting Possession. To *Abraham* himself ער עלם forever, i. e. during his Life, in which Sense the Words are † frequently used. And to his Seed לאחוזת עולם, for a Possession of Age, i. e. a long and durable Possession, without any fixing or Limitation of the Time; tho' the Condition of their continuing to possess it, is plainly enough intimated by God himself, viz. if they would ‡ keep the Way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment. And in this Sense the Jews themselves understood the Promise, as appears from || *Moses*, § *Joshua*, and the Writings of almost all the Prophets. The Accomplishment of this Part of the Promises is too plain to every Reader, to need any farther Explication.

* Exod. xii. 41.

† Ps. cxix. 44.

‡ Gen. xviii. 19.

|| Deut. viii. 19, 20.

§ Josh. xxiii. 15.

Having thus remarked the Particulars contained in these Promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaack* and *Jacob*, I should now examine what this Moral Dr. says to the contrary, and the Representation he hath given of this Affair. And the Reader will find him of a Piece with himself, and that he hath not departed one Jot, from his usual Veracity, Modesty and Politeness. But I shall reserve the particular Consideration of this till I come to the Time of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and the Settlement of the *Jews* in this Country, under them; and only consider now, the Representation he hath given of the Promises themselves. And

1. He tells us, God * *promised to settle his Posterity in the Possession of the whole Land from the River Jordan to the great Sea; or as he elsewhere expresses it, † from Jordan to the Mediterranean in Breadth, and from Sidon to the Borders of Egypt in Length.* In another Place 'tis that ‡ *vast Country from the River of Egypt to Euphrates.* In another Place, || 'tis *as far as Abram could see from the Palestine Amorite Mountain.* Elsewhere, 'tis § *the Land in which Abram had sojourned*, who, he tells us, *travelled from Place to Place, and dwelt and sojourned in all Parts of the Land, while he was there.* And finally, ** *there is not one Word in Exod. xxiii. 29, 30. nor in any of the Books of Moses, of any Nation or Country, which the Is-*

* Pag. 28.

† Pag. 38.

‡ Page 230.

|| Page 231.

§ Page 234.

** Page 240.

raelites were to drive out, and take their Possessions, but the Canaanites only. And if this be true, as I think it is, meaning by the *Canaanites*, the Posterity of *Canaan*, the Promise to *Abram* of the Land from *Sibor* to *Euphrates*, can only mean, as I have already explain'd it, so much of the Country between these two Rivers, its South and North Boundaries, as was possessed by these different Clans or Nations. And hence it follows, that his Observation, * *that the Plains of Philistia were included in this Country*, is not true; and his Remark, that *David could not possess himself of the Plains of the Sea Coasts in Philistia*, is nothing to the Purpose, because the *Philistines* were not *Canaanites* but *Egyptians*, and therefore could not be, upon his own Scheme, that Nation or Country which the *Israelites* were to drive out and take Possession of. But that they did possess the Land of the *Canaanites*, either as Inhabitants or Lords, is abundantly plain from what has been already observed. Nor doth it appear from the Accounts of *Abraham's* Travels, that he ever went so far North as the *Euphrates*, or that he ever, but once, went out of the Land of *Canaan* properly so called; nor will our Philosopher I presume, tho' he hath enlarged *Abram's* Eye-Sight so far as to take a View of a Country, full of Hills, for one hundred eighty Miles in Length, so far stretch them, as to make them capable of seeing thro' *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*,

into *Syria*, quite up to the *Euphrates*. This will be heaping Miracle on Miracle, quite contrary to his Judgment and Inclination. In Truth, the whole Account and Series of these Promises determine the Grant to be properly and peculiarly of the Land of *Canaan*, inhabited by his Posterity. And that they did possess so much of this Tract of Land between *Sihor* and *Euphrates*, either as Inhabitants or Lords, hath I think been proved beyond Exception.

Our Author's Observation therefore, from the Promise to *Abram*, Gen. xv. 18, 21. * *That one would think, that in this Promise, there must have been some Mistake of the Historian, since the Israelites were not in Possession of a tenth Part of this large Tract from Sihor to the Euphrates, and that it is not much to be insisted on, because made only in a Dream*; is somewhat worse than a Dream in him. What, were not the *Israelites* in Possession of a tenth Part of it, when they were gathered from *Sihor* to *Hemath*, and when they were mustered from *Bershebah* in *Philistia* up to *Sidon* and *Tyre*? The Man knows nothing of what he writes, that asserts this, but betrays his own Blunders, and not the Mistakes of the *Hebrew* Historian. When in order to evade this, he asserts, that *David* † *could never subdue or possess himself of the Plains of the Sea-Coasts, Philistia and Sidonia, which contained at least a third Part of Canaan*;

* Page 230, 231.

† Page 232.

'tis partly false, and partly nothing to the Purpose. 'Tis partly false, for David *smote the Philistines * and subdued them*: Or as the Author of the Chronicles relates it: † *He smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took Gath and her Towns out of the Land of the Philistines*. And tho' they rose again several Times in his Reign, yet he so intirely humbled and reduced them, that we have little or no mention of them afterwards, except of one or two small Insurrections, which were soon quelled, and the Country reduced to its former Obedience. Thus in the Reign of *Uzziah*, he *warred against the Philistines, ‡ broke down the Wall of Gath, and the Wall of Jabneh, and the Wall of Ashdod, and built Cities about Ashdod, and amongst the Philistines*. And tho' they rose again in the Days of *Abah*, that idolatrous Prince, || yet *Hzekiah* his Son, so intirely subdued them, as that I think we never read of any Insurrection of them afterwards. But if the Fact had been as he represents it, 'tis nothing to the Purpose, because God promised the *Israelites* no other Country but that of the *Canaanites*, and therefore not that of the *Philistines*, who were *Egyptians* and not *Canaanites*. What he means by *the Plains of the Sea-Coasts*, I know not. If those, that were between *Sidon* and *Philistia*, he cannot prove that they were unsubdued. If the *Sea-Coasts of Sidonia* and *Tyre*, I answer,

* 2 Sam. viii. 1. † 1 Chron. xviii. 1. ‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.
|| 2 Kings xviii. 8.

there is no need of Conquest to prove the Accomplishment of God's Promise to *Abram*. I have already shewn, that the *Israelites* lived unmolested in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and enjoy'd all the Privileges of those Cities and Countries. And as this was owing to the Power and Influence of their own Kings, and the good Providence of God that followed them, God gave them *Tyre* and *Sidon* for their Habitation Use and Conveniency, tho' they never conquered them; as really as he gave the Land of *Canaan* to the Patriarchs their Fathers, whereby the Promises were equally fulfilled with Respect to both. But

2. He farther, with great Confidence assures us, that *Abram* being on the Mountains of Philistia, * *God promised to settle his Posterity after him, in the everlasting peaceable Possession of the whole Land.* † And again: *God had promised and sworn to settle their Posterity quietly and peaceably in the Land of Canaan.* And what he means by this *peaceably* he fully explains: ‡ That after the bloody Fight with the Amalekites, the People saw, they were not to be put peaceably into Possession of Canaan, and the Lord was not so far with them, as to settle them there in a miraculous Way, || viz. as he expresses it, by a miraculous Conquest, and the Lord's doing every Thing for them, in Consequence of his Promise and Oath to Abraham. This it must be confessed

* Page 28.

† Page 38.

‡ Page 63.

|| Page 64.

is a very extraordinary Engagment of God, was it true, and I think we should be hard put to it to find out the Accomplishment. But luckily these Words, *Peaceably, Quietly*, are in none of the original Promises to *Abraham*; no, not in that made upon our Author's *Philistine Amorite* Mountain. They are Words *forged* by this Moral Writer, and added to the Promise of God without his Leave, and contrary to his Intention. Nor did *Moses* give them any Encouragement to expect such a *peaceable and quiet Settlement* in the Country, *i. e.* a Settlement in it *by the Lord's doing every Thing for them*; as shall hereafter be shewn at large. The Promises of God to *Abraham* determined nothing positively and in express Terms about the Manner, how they were to be brought into *Canaan*; whether by the Cession, or Conquest of the former Inhabitants, whether peaceably or by War. This could be determined only by the Event; and I here publicly call on this Philosopher, as he would avoid *the Charge of Forgery and Falshood*, and of *corrupting and belying* the Promises of God, to prove that God promised, particularly on the *Amorite* Mountains, to settle *Abrams* Posterity in *the peaceable Possession of the whole Land*, as he hath explained the Word, or in any other Place whatsoever, either in Terms, or by fair Implication or Consequence. The Expression, *the Iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full*, seems plainly and strongly to intimate the contrary. For what-
ever

ever might be the Numbers of this People at this Time, under whom as a principal and very corrupted Part, all the Branches of *Canaan's* Family seem to be included, yet the sparing them for four hundred Years longer must unquestionably add both to their Number and Strength, and render the expelling them from their Countries proportionably more difficult. Not to add that the Words, *Their Iniquities are not yet full*, seem to imply that at the End of these four hundred Years, their Iniquities would arrive to their just Measure, and that they should in due Time reap the Vengeance justly due to their aggravated Crimes, and that this Punishment should come on them by God's giving their Country to the Seed of *Abraham*. This venerable Patriarch could scarce help having some such Thoughts as these, from the very Nature of the Promise; and the Philosopher can never evade the Force of these Circumstances, without ridiculously crying out *Forgery and Imposture*, in an Affair that is almost as evident and certain, as any one Fact that can be produced in History. The mean Subterfuge this of a Man, that is resolved to deny or affirm any Thing without Shame or Modesty, that he thinks may promote and keep up the Credit of his Cause.

3. 'Tis yet more extraordinary what he affirms, that Moses * *revives an antient Grant of God to Abraham &c. † in which God had promised and sworn to settle their Posterity quietly and peace-*

* Page 38.

† Page 63.

ably in the Land of Canaan, as an everlasting Inheritance for them, at the End of four hundred Years; and that at the End of these four hundred Years, they were upon the Solemn Oath and Promise of God to be put into the Possession of the whole Land so far as Abram could see. And the Reflection he makes on it is this: *This was the Promise and Oath from God, which Moses as a Politician set out upon. But as God never made good his Promise and Oath, as they could never set a Foot upon, or could make themselves Masters of any one Town in it, till forty Years after the four hundred Years of Promise were expired; as all this is very clear and undeniable, it may reasonably be presumed, that this was now only trumped up to serve a Turn: And finally to close this * horrid Account, as this Promise was never made good, we make God a Liar, or he asserts Moses was an Impostor. Reader, I beseech thee observe the Particulars this incautious Writer here asserts.*

1. He represents God as promising to Abram, that at the End of four hundred Years, he would settle his Posterity in the Land of Canaan.
2. That at this Period they were to be put into Possession of the whole Land, so far as Abram could see from one of the highest Mountains of Palestine, viz. from the River Jordan to the Mediter-

anean, and from Zidon to the Borders of Egypt.

3. That he promised to settle his Posterity quietly and peaceably in this Land.
4. That at the End of these four hundred Years, they were upon the solemn Promise and Oath of God to be put into Possession of this whole Land. And
5. That Moses revives this antient Grant from God to Abram.

I beseech thee once more, Reader, be thou Deist or Christian, be thou Mahometan or Jew, whosoever thou beest, so that thou hast but a Love for Truth and Honesty, judge between the God of Abraham, and this presumptuous, Moral Philosopher; and either impartially condemn me for this Representation of him, or let thy generous Pity rest on him, who hath thus misrepresented the Promises of God, and the Conduct of Man. For every one of these five Particulars are contrary to Truth, and have not one single Word in the Writings of Moses to support them.

The only Passage in the Old Testament, where these four hundred Years are mentioned is that before quoted; which I must beg leave to repeat. The Words are these. * He, God, said unto Abram, know of a Surety, that thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict

* Gen. xv. 13. &c.

them,

them, four hundred Years. And also that Nation whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards they shall come out with great Substance, viz. after this four hundred Years, and God's judging the nation that afflicted them. But in the fourth Generation they shall come hither again, for the Iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full. All therefore that is asserted in this Promise to *Abram*, is: That at the End of four hundred Years *Abram's* Seed should come out of the Land that afflicted them with great Substance, and that the fourth Generation of those who went into this stranger Land should come again into the Land of Canaan, or that it should be but four ordinary Generations of Men before God would cause them to return to Canaan. Not one Word, that they should possess the Land of Canaan exactly at the End of four hundred Years, not an Intimation that they should possess it peaceably and quietly, not the least Shadow of an Oath or solemn Oath from God to this Purpose; no Promise to put them into Possession from *Jordan* to the *Mediterranean*, or from *Sidon* to *Egypt*, only that they should come up hither. Nor is there any other Promise to *Abraham* recorded, that mentions these four hundred Years: nor did *Moses* ever revive such a Promise or Grant, never assured the *Israelites* of possessing Canaan peaceably, nor of bringing them into it at the End of four hundred Years. All this is Philosophical Dream, Invention and Forgery, and an unrighteous charging God and Man with

with Assurances and Promises and Oaths they never made. The sacred Historian well knew the Meaning of this Promise of the four hundred Years, and understood it in the same Manner I have explain'd it, when he makes this Reflection on the Time of the *Israelites* Deliverance from *Egypt*, at the End of the four hundred and thirty Years from *Abram's* coming out of *Ur*, or four hundred Years from the Birth of *Isaack*, who was the first of his proper Seed, that was a *Stranger in the Land that was not theirs*: * *It is a Night much to be observed unto the Lord, for bringing them out, לַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה*, the very Word made use of in the Promise Gen. xv. 14. יֵצֵאוּ *Ye shall come out with great Substance, viz. from the Land of Egypt. This is that Night of the Lord to be observed of all the Children of Israel in their Generations*; to be observed by them indeed with the highest Reason, because it was the Accomplishment of the Promise to a Day. And yet wonderful as this Day was, as a signal Proof of the Fidelity of God in accomplishing this important Prophecy, this Moral Philosopher tells us, this Promise of the four hundred Years was never made good, and that if we suppose it † *absolute* we must make God a *Liar*, and affirms that if 'twas *conditional* Moses was an *Impostor*. But he is too hasty in imagining he can reduce us to these Straits. For

* Exod. xii. 42.

† Page 229. Fin. and 234:

1. God never made any such Promise at all, as he represents, either absolute or conditional, viz. to settle *Abram's* Posterity peaceably in the Land of *Canaan*, in the whole or any Part of it, exactly at the End of four hundred Years; but only that they should come from *Egypt*, at the Expiration of that Term: This Promise was absolute, and God proved himself no Liar, because he exactly fulfilled it. When he adds

2. That *the Israelites could never set a Foot upon, or make themselves Masters of any one Town in it till forty Years after the four hundred*, 'tis a pitiful Observation. For had it been *eighty* Years 'twould have been nothing to the Purpose; and shews only his Want of Care in reading the *Hebrew* History, or his determined Purpose maliciously to misrepresent it. For neither God nor Man promised them that they should set Foot on it, or make themselves Masters of one Town in it, till after the four hundred Years. The Promise as made by God, and revived by *Moses*, was in every Circumstance of it the most exactly verified, in full Justification of the Truth of God, and the Authority and Commission of *Moses*. And yet as tho' he had been writing *the plainest and most certain Truths*, and giving us the *Mosaick* History, exactly as the Historian had delivered it; he concludes this monstrous palpable Misrepresentation of the Promise of the four hundred Years, with these very Words: * *All this is very clear and undeni-*

able: And then presumes * *this Promise was trump up to serve a Turn*, and that Moses was a *false Prophet and his Commission forged*. But where is the Morality of the Philosopher, in telling his Reader, that his Account of the Promise, *is clear and undeniable*, when every Word of it is Misrepresentation and Falsehood? And when the very contrary to what he hath asserted, is clear and undeniable, if the plainest Words can make it so? Nor will Moses his Commission ever be proved forged, nor the Prophecies he acted by, false, by such *impotent Pen* as his; which seems to discover only the fixed, inveterate Malice of the Writer; and to take Pleasure in attempting to blast all the *most venerable Characters* of Antiquity. But to proceed.

S E C T V.

Of the original Design of the Patriarchs to settle in Canaan.

Whatever might be the Sense and Meaning and Accomplishment of these and other Promises to *Abraham, Isaack and Jacob*; our Philosopher farther observes: That † *who-soever will consider the Nature and Consequence of this Story from first to last, must I think see, that these Hebrew Patriarchs had never any original Design of settling in Palestine; and it appears very plain that Abram's first Attempt*

* Page 39.

† Page 28, 29.

*for a Settlement was in Egypt, and that being driven from thence, it is plain that in his Return to Canaan, he made no Provision for a Settlement there, or ever designed it for his Posterity. He built no Towns or Cities, nor cultivated any Lands more than was necessary for Corn and a present Supply; * and that tho' Abraham in his Time might easily have conquer'd the whole Land of Canaan, and driven out all the former Inhabitants had he thought fit, † having a Force superiour to any or all of them; and tho' Isaack and Jacob might afterwards have done the same, being vastly rich, and superior in Force and Power to any Nation or Colony then in Canaan, yet all this Time they made no Purchases, attempted no Conquests, nor discovered the least Design or Inclination of ever making it their Country, or any fixed settled Habitation for themselves or Posterity, ‡ because 'twas a Land not worth conquering, purchasing or possessing; and therefore farther || 'tis plain that the real Design of this Hebrew Nation from first to last was upon Egypt.*

Here are two Things our Author imagines he hath laboured with great Success, and set in the clearest and most evident Point of View. This is plain, and that is very plain, and every one must see it, viz.

1. That the Hebrew Patriarchs had never any original Design of settling in Palestine. And

* Page 94.

† Page 29.

‡ Page 30.

|| Page 28.

2. That

2. That *the real Design from first to last* was upon *Egypt*.

1. That the *Hebrew Patriarchs* had *never any real Design* of settling in *Palestine*. This, says he, *every Man must see who considers the Nature of the Story from first to last*. If he means the Nature and Consequence of the Story he hath invented and *cooked up* from first to Last, a Man may see many wonderful Things from it. If he means the plain and artless Story as represented by the *Hebrew Historian*, 'tis impossible that any Man who *can see at all*, can see that the *Hebrew Patriarchs* had *never any original Design* of settling in *Palestine*, for he must see absolutely the contrary. It will be necessary here a little to review the History of these venerable Patriarchs, to set this Affair in a clear Light. When *Abram* first came out of *Ur*, he travelled, *not knowing where the Land of Promise was to be*; but going to the Land * *that God shewed him*, he came directly to the Land of *Canaan*; and there God promised him: *To thy Seed will I give this Land*. Here he continued, till a Famine forced him into the neighbouring Country of *Egypt*, where he went † *only to sojourn* till the Famine was over. From hence he returned into the South Parts of *Canaan*, ‡ to dwell in it. Here he continued, sometimes dwelling on the Hills, at other Times in the Plain of *Mamre* amongst the *Amorites*. ¶ In

* Gen. xii. 1, 5, 6.

† Gen. xii. 10.

‡ Gen. xiii. 12.

¶ Ver. 18.

this Country he had the Promise of the Land renewed to him. And so pleased was he with this Promise of God, that he requested some solemn Confirmation of the Grant that was made him. * *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* Accordingly God gave him the Satisfaction he desired, by a Vision expressly determining the Time when his Posterity should be brought up to it, and representing to him several remarkable Circumstances that should precede it; and in the same Day made a Covenant with him, confirming all the former Grants, and particularly setting forth the utmost Boundaries of the Country, and the People that inhabited it. The same Promise was several Times after renewed to him for his Satisfaction; nor is there the least Intimation, that he ever thought of, or attempted to go into *Egypt* after his first Return from it. No, in *Canaan* was his constant Habitation; and so well assured was he, that this was to be the Land of his and his Posterities Possession, † that when giving his head Servant a Charge concerning the Marriage of his Son *Isaac*, he makes mention of God under this very Character: *The Lord God of Heaven, which spoke unto me, and swore unto me, saying, Unto thy Seed will I give this Land.* And so strongly was he persuaded of the Truth of this Grant, that he would not permit *Isaac* ever to return to the Land from whence he himself originally came,

* Gen. xv. 8, &c.

† Gen. xxiv. 5, 6, 7, 8.

urging this very Reason for it, *that the Lord God of Heaven had promised Canaan to his Seed.* And tho' he had several other Children by *Keturah*, yet in his Life-time he sent * *them out of Canaan to the Eastward from Isaack his Son,* as having no Share in the Promises of *Canaan*, nor Right of Inheritance there; and dying *was buried in the Cave of Mackpelah his Purchase.* *Isaack* never appears to have once gone out of the Land of *Canaan*, † and tho' he went upon Account of a lesser Famine into *Philistia* the nearest Part of *Canaan* to *Egypt*, yet there he was warned of God *not to go down into Egypt*, and received the Promise from God, that had been given to his Father *Abraham*, of a numerous Posterity, and of the Possession of the same Country, and was directly commanded: *Dwell in the Land which I shall tell thee of: Sojourn in this Land, and I will be with thee and bless thee.* And when he gave his Son *Jacob* a very solemn Blessing, 'tis in these remarkable Words: ‡ *God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and give thee the Blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy Seed with thee, that thou mayst inherit the Land wherein thou art a Stranger, which God gave to Abraham.* 'Twas *Canaan*, Philosopher, and not *Egypt*, that was the Object of these holy Patriarchs Faith and Prayers, and the Hope of which was transmitted from Father to Son. And when *Jacob* travel-

* Gen. xxv. 6.

† Gen. xxvi. 2, 3, 4.

‡ Gen. xxviii. 3, 4.

led towards *Haran*, he received the same Promise from God. * *The Land whereon thou liest to thee will I give it and to thy Seed. And behold I am with thee and will keep thee, in all Places which thou goest, and will bring thee again into this Land; for I will not leave thee, untill I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.* And accordingly *Jacob* makes this solemn Vow, *If God will be with me and keep me in this Way that I go, so that I come again to my FATHER'S HOUSE in Peace, then shall the Lord be my God.* All this hapned at *Bethel* near *Jericho*. When he had been many Years a Servant with *Laban*, he says to him: † *Send me away, that I may go unto my own Place, and to my Country; ‡ soon after which God says to him, Return to the Land of thy Fathers, and to thy Kindred, § and I will be with thee; §* and when he actually came into it, he *built him an House*, and purchased a Field; upon God's Order dwells in *Bethel*, and at Length returns to his Father *Isaac* in *Hebron*, and after his Death continued ** *to dwell in the Land wherein his Father was a Stranger, in the Land of Canaan.* Upon the seven Years Famine in *Canaan*, being sent for into *Egypt* by his Son *Joseph*, †† he seems at first afraid of going down into that Country. But God orders and encourages him to go, *fear not to go down into Egypt; and assures him*

* Gen. xxviii. 13. &c.

† Gen. xxx. 25.

‡ Gen. xxxi. 3, 13.

§ xxxii. 9.

§ xxxiii. 17, 19.

** xxxvii. 1.

†† Gen. xli. 3, 4.

of being brought up again after he had seen *Joseph*, and his own Decease in Egypt. *I will also surely bring thee up, and Joseph shall put his Hand upon thine Eyes.* And when the good old Patriarch gave his Blessing to his Children, not one single Word of *Egypt*, tho' in the best Part of the Country. No, *Zabulon's* Blessing plainly declares his Hope and Faith was in the Land of *Canaan*: *“Zabulon shall dwell at the Haven of the Sea, and he shall be for an Haven of Ships, and his Border shall be unto † Zidon.* And in Confidence that God would bring his Family out of *Egypt* into *Canaan*, he makes *Joseph* swear, and charges all his Children, ‡ *not to bury him in Egypt, but to carry him into Canaan, and bury him with his Fathers.* And upon a Visit that *Joseph* made to him, he repeats to him the Promise God Almighty made him at *Bethel*, when he said to him, || *I will give this Land to thy Seed after thee, for an everlasting Possession.* And lest *Joseph* should entertain any Thought of settling his own Posterity by *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* in *Egypt*, *Jacob* tells him: *And now thy two Sons Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the Land of Egypt, before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine: As Reuben and Simeon they are mine; and thy Issue which thou begettest after them shall be thine, and shall be called after the Name of their Brethren in their Inheritance;* hereby plainly declaring they should be two

* Gen. xlix. 13. † Gen. xlvii. 29. &c. ‡ xlix. 29.

|| Gen. xlviii. 5, 6.

distinct Tribes, and receive their Inheritance as such, with the rest of his Sons, in the Land of *Canaan*. And when he had blessed them, he says to Joseph: * *Behold I die, but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the Land of your Fathers.* † And to conclude, even Joseph himself dies in the same Faith and Hope, telling his Brethren: ‡ *I die: And God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this Land unto the Land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob*; and accordingly he took an Oath of his Brethren, saying: *God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my Bones from hence.* These Passages put together discover in the clearest Light the original constant uninterrupted View of these Patriarchs living and dying; that *Egypt* was absolutely out of their Thoughts, and that the Land of *Canaan* was the sole Object of their Ambition and Desire; founded upon the repeated Promises of the Almighty God, whom they knew could and would accomplish every Thing he had spoken. And I doubt not but my Reader will now sufficiently wonder at the amazing Ignorance, and unsufferable Assurance of this careless unthinking *Philosopher*, who in spite of so much Evidence to the contrary, hath the Front to assert; that *whoever will consider the Nature and Consequence of this Story from first to last must see: That these Hebrew Patriarchs had never any original Design*

* Gen. xlviii. 21.

† Gen. l. 24, 25.

‡ Heb. xi. 23.

of settling in Palestine, that Abraham never designed it for his Posterity, and that Isaack and Jacob did not discover the least Design or Inclination of ever making it their Country, or any fixed settled Habitation for themselves and Posterity. Not discover the least Design! Not the least Inclination! I leave every Reader to pass his Censure on such a gross Misrepresentation of the Hebrew Patriarchs, and scandalous Endeavour to impose on his Understanding, and mislead his Judgment. But he produces his Reasons. Wonderful Philosopher, to pretend to Reason away Facts! Was there ever so dangerous an Enemy to Revelation before him? He is the Goliath of the Philistines, and promises himself certain Victory over all his Adversaries.

1. *Abraham* never designed the Land of *Canaan* for his Posterity, * and made no Provision for a Settlement there, because *he built no Towns or Cities*. Incomparable! *Abraham* had one Son who was to be his Heir to *Canaan*. For whom should he build Towns and Cities? To be sure, for his Son *Isaack*. How many Towns and Cities did this Son *Isaack* need? Was he so very large a Man, as that nothing but Towns and Cities would content him? The Philosopher is in a Dream here. Softly, Reader, disturb him not. Well but

2. † *He cultivated no more Lands than was necessary for Corn, and a present Supply*. Ergo, he made no Provision for himself, nor design'd

* Page 29.

† Ibid.

it for his Posterity. Turn this Proposition, and see the Philosopher's Acuteness. *Abraham* cultivated as much Land as was necessary for Corn and a present Supply. *Ergo*, he made no Provision for a Settlement here. How nervous is the Reasoning! Nor did he for the same Reason design it for his Posterity. Should he then have cultivated as many Lands, as were necessary for Corn, and a future Supply for all his Posterity? There is no Reply to be made to such Argumentations. None but Philosophers and Mathematicians can pretend to such Demonstrations.

3. *Abraham* * might easily have possessed himself of Canaan, and in his † Time have conquered the whole Land, and driven out all the former Inhabitants then settled in the Country, had he thought fit, for he had a Force superiour to any or all of them; and therefore, because he did not make this Conquest, he made no Provision for a Settlement, nor designed the Land of Canaan for his Posterity.—*Næ, ista hercle magno jam conatu magnas nugas dixerit.*—We have in one Place a particular Account of *Abraham's* Forces: When he pursued *Chedorlaomer*, he armed his trained Servants that were born in his own House, three hundred and eighteen. But I presume I shall be told that 'tis improbable that *Abram* should pursue these four Kings with only three Hundred and eighteen Men, and that therefore *Abram* must have an unspeakably larger Number. I will, if it will please him, allow

the Improbability ; but then I must deny his Consequence, because I can bring him the other Men that went with *Abram* : Men that I know he must dread like *Apparitions*, because he hath positively affirmed they did not dwell at this Time in *Canaan* ; and these are the *Amorites*, who were confederate with *Abram*, the Families of *Aner*, *Eshcol* and *Mamre*, who assisted *Abram* in this Expedition. Now, if *Abram* had at this Time a Force superiour to any or all the *Canaanites*, 'tis plain that all the then Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan* could not be above three Hundred eighteen Men, else *Abram* could not be superiour to them. Now, besides all the Sons of *Canaan* who were the original Possessors of the Land, there were at this very Time in it, the distinct Nations of the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and the *Philistines*. There were several Towns built in it, *Abimelech* King of *Philistia* had an Host, and a Captain of his Host. Now how will this Philosopher divide these three Hundred eighteen People in the Land of *Canaan* ? How many to each Tribe ? How many to inhabit each City ? And how many had Captain *Pichol* under him, this mighty General of the Host of *Abimelech*, if *Abram's* three hundred eighteen Men were a Force superiour to all the Inhabitants of that Country ? For the Philosopher can prove no more from the *Hebrew* Historian. He may dream of more. But his Dreams are not History. But what contemptible Stuff is all this to palm upon

the World? What no more than three hundred and eighteen Men at this Time in all the Land of *Canaan*? Yea, I'll give him leave to encrease *Abram's* Family to twenty times that Number, and his Account of *Abram's* Superiority will be stupid and incredible. When *Jacob's* Family went down into *Egypt*, all the Souls of the House of *Jacob* were but threescore and ten, and during the two hundred and ten Years they were in that Country, they multiplied to about six hundred thousand Persons, besides Children. From the * Flood to the Birth of *Isaack* were near four hundred Years, and can any reasonable Person imagine, that *Ham's* Posterity by *Canaan*, who had eleven Sons, should not, during this Period of four hundred Years, amount to more than the single Family of *Abraham*, who never lived one hundred Years in that Country, and who had no Child for several Years after his coming into it; and especially considering that his Posterity encreased to six hundred thousand Persons, besides Chil-

* From the Flood to <i>Arphaxad's</i> Birth were	2
Gen. xi. To <i>Selah's</i> - - - -	35
To <i>Eber's</i> - - - -	30
To <i>Peleg's</i> - - - -	34
To <i>Reu's</i> - - - -	30
To <i>Serug's</i> - - - -	32
To <i>Nabor's</i> - - - -	30
To <i>Tirab's</i> - - - -	29
To <i>Abram's</i> - - - -	70
To <i>Isaack's</i> - - - -	100

 392

dren,

dren, in the much less Period of two hundred and ten Years? And when to this we add farther, that besides the Posterity of *Canaan*, both the *Philistines*, and the People particularly called *Canaanites*, and the *Perizzites*, had large Settlements in it. So far in Truth was *Abram* from being superiour to any or all the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan*, that he appears to have been inferiour to one single Tribe of them, even the *Philistines*. For a little before his Offering up of *Isaack*, he * *reproved Abimelech, because of a Well of Water, which Abimelech's Servants had violently taken away*; which I presume *Abram* would not have suffer'd them to have done, could he have prevented that Violence, by the Superiority of his own Forces. And indeed this Superiority of *Abraham* to any or all the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, is mere *Rhodomantade* and *Quixotism*, forged by our Author's fruitful Invention, and may serve as a Specimen of the Quickness of his Imagination, and the Depth of his Penetration and Judgment. I know of no possible Method to give *the least Air of Probability* to this *philosophical Rant* of *Abram's Troops* and Conquests, but supposing that our Author reckons *Abram's* Maid Servants, Oxen, Asses, Sheep and Goats, amongst his Forces; and with this Reinforcement, I will not pretend to say, what wonderful Exploits he might have happily perform'd.

* Gen. xxi. 25.

4. With respect to *Isaack* and *Jacob* after him, our Philosopher lowers the Account a little: *They were superiour in Force and Power to any Nation or Colony then in Canaan*; not like *Abram* * *superiour to any or all of them*. And yet *Isaack*, with all his Superiority, was not able to prevent the *Philistines* from *stopping up the Wells* which his Father's Servants had digged, nor to preserve those which his own Servants had made, from being seized on by the Herdsmen of *Gerar*; who forced him to leave the Country where he had sojourned. And, if *Jacob* himself may be believed, * *he was but few in Number in Comparison of the Canaanites, and Perizzites*, and was afraid lest *they should destroy both him and his Family*.

But it seems † *they possessed and occupied as much as they pleased of Canaan for two Hundred and ninety Years*, and yet *all this Time made no Purchases, nor attempted any Conquests*. But how doth this Mathematician compute this two hundred and ninety Years? I cannot make so much of them by a great many.

From <i>Abraham's</i> going out of <i>Haran</i> , to <i>Isaack's</i> Birth, was	- - -	} 25
From <i>Isaack's</i> Birth to <i>Jacob's</i> ,	- - -	60
<i>Jacob</i> , when he came into <i>Egypt</i> , was		130

In all but 215

* Gen. xxvi. 15, &c.

† Gen. xxxiv. 30.

‡ Page 29.

What

What doth every Thing multiply in this Philosopher's Account? Can he represent nothing true? Well, but *they attempted no Conquests*. And what should they attempt Conquests for, when the Philosopher allows, *they possessed and occupied as much as they pleased of the Land for two Hundred and ninety Years*? They could have possessed and occupied no more *than they pleased*, had they made ever so many Conquests. But *they made no Purchases*. Why should they throw away their Money upon Purchases, when they possessed as much as they would without being obliged to purchase? Would he have had them such Fools as to give Money for what they enjoy'd without it? However, the Fact is not true. *Abraham* did make a Purchase, and a very important one too. He purchased the Field of *Mackpelah* for a Burying-place amongst the *Hittites*; a Circumstance, that plainly intimates *Abraham* looked on this Land as his own, and believed that it should one Day be the Possession of his Family and Posterity; and to engage his Son *Isaack* to fix in this Country, by remembering that his Father's venerable Remains lay buried in it. 'Tis well known the * Ancients esteem'd

* Πολλοι απ' Ιταλιης κειμαι χθονος, εκ τε Ταραντος
 Ηατης, τιτο δε μοι πικροτερον θανατο.

Anthol. l. 2. c. 26. Ep. 75.

Σοι τοδε Διογενες θαλαρης μνημιον ηβης

Παντω εν Ευξεινω θηκατο φρυξ γενετης.

Φευ πατρης εκας οσσον! Id. Ibid. c. 23. Ep. 12.

Sepulchrorum Sanctitas in ipso solo est, quod nulla vi moveri ne-
 que

esteem'd it as a *peculiar Unhappiness* to be buried in a foreign Country, and not to lie amongst their Family and Friends. And 'twas for this Reason unquestionably, that *Jacob* and *Joseph* were so extreamly solicitous to have their own Bodies brought out of *Egypt*, which they looked on as a *strange foreign Land*; and deposited in the Sepulchre of their Parents in *Canaan*, which they esteemed as their *own Country* and proper Inheritance. Nor was there any Punishment more severe and infamous, than the Ancients thought they could inflict, than to deprive Persons of being laid in the Monuments of their Ancestors. Thus we read in the Old Testament, that this was threatned by God himself as a Punishment to the disobedient Prophet: † *Thy Carcass shall not come to the Sepulchre of thy Fathers.* And of *Joash* 'tis remarked as a Circumstance of Dishonour, That *they buried him not in the Sepulchre of the Kings.* When † *Horatius*, the Roman, after his Victory over the *Curiatii*, had slain his Sister, for reproaching him with the Death of her Lover, the Fa-

que deleri potest, atque ut cætera extinguuntur, sic Sepulchra fiunt Sanctiora vetustate. Cicer. Philip. 9. c. 6.

Magnum est eadem habere Monumenta majorum, iisdem uti Sacris, Sepulchra habere communia. Id. de Offic. l. 1. c. 17.

† 1 Kin. xiii. 22.

† Ουτε εις την οικιαν εισενεχθηναι τον νεκρον της θυγατρος, οτ' εν τοις πατρωις τεθηναι μνημασιν επετρεψεν, οτε κηδεidas, οτε περισολης κ' των αλλων νομιμων μεταλαβειν. Αλλ' οι παριοντες αυτην ερριμμενην εν ω διεχρησθη χωριω, λιθεις επιθρονοντες κ' γην, εκηδευσαν ως πτωμα ερημον κηδομενων. Dion. Halic. Rom. Antiq. p. 152. Edit. Oxon.

ther

ther not only vindicated his Son, but in Resentment of her Conduct, would not permit her dead Body to be buried with her Family; as one of the highest Instances of Reproach he could throw upon her. Other Instances of this Nature might be mentioned. But besides this Sepulchral Field purchased by *Abraham*, his Grandson *Jacob* bought another Field for three hundred Pieces of Money; and by these Purchases the Patriarchs discovered that they had a real Design and Inclination of making it their own Country, and a *settled fixed Habitation for themselves and their Posterity*. The Sepulchral Purchase is a Demonstration of this; and *Jacob* expressly calls it * *his own Place and Country*; and God himself, † *the Land of his Kindred*. What stronger Demonstration can the Philosopher desire?

But they, the Patriarchs, ‡ *contented themselves to be voluntary free Sojourners, whilst they might have been Masters of the whole Country had they thought fit*. Very good. Would the Philosopher have had them contented to be *involuntary* and enslaved *Sojourners*? Or, *voluntary* and free *Sojourners, without Contentment*? Either of the two would have been an extraordinary Curiosity. But *they might have been Masters of the whole Country had they thought fit; i. e. they might have garrison'd the Towns of all the Inhabitants of Canaan with Oxen, and Asses*. And

* ‡ Gen. xxx, 25. † Gen. xxxi. 13. ‡ Page 29.

what then? Could they have been more than content, voluntary, and free? Or could they have possessed and occupied more than they pleased? What doth the Man mean? If they were superiour to any or all the Inhabitants, as he tells us they were, they were Masters of the whole Country whilst they lived in it; and lived in it, not by Permission only, but in Defiance of all the Power and Strength of the whole Land of *Canaan*; and the Inhabitants were beholden to the Patriarchs for their quiet Continuance in the Country, and not the Patriarchs to them.

But it seems that * *these Hebrew Clans of strolling Shepherds and Herdsmen waited for a more favourable Opportunity, till Providence should direct them to some Country or other, where Towns and Cities had been built, the Lands cultivated for them, and all the Conveniences of Life ready provided to their Hands, without any Labour, and consequently without any natural Right or Title of their own.* And all this, he tells us, seems very plain. —*Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi—* Clans of strolling Shepherds and Herdsmen! The Manners of the Man! How many Hebrews were there in these several Clans? Three in *Abraham's*, four in *Isaack's*, and seventy in *Jacob's*; for of their Servants he cannot prove one to be an *Hebrew*. Well, *they waited till Providence should direct them to Towns and Cities.* How many Towns and Cities did *Abraham*, with his Son *Isaack*, wait to be directed to?

Or *Isaack*, with his two Sons ? Unconscionable Men, not to be content with one Town and one City each. *Jacob* indeed had a larger Family, and the least he could wait for, to be sure, were seventy Towns, and seventy Cities. And besides this, *they waited for Lands cultivated for them, and all the Conveniences of Life ready provided to their Hands, without Labour* ; so that they expected to live without cultivating their own Lands, or labouring themselves for the Conveniences of Life. But where did the Philosopher pick up *this silly Account* of the Patriarchs Waitings and Expectations ? Who revealed to him this hitherto unheard of Mystery ? What is *Morgan* too amongst the Prophets ? The Patriarchs cultivated themselves the Land of *Canaan*, as much as they had need of. Whether it was desert, possessed, drougthy, or not, here they fixed their Hope, here they purchased their Sepulchres. Towns and Cities they needed none, sought none. The Conveniences of Life they had in their own Possession, by their Labour and Industry. They trusted in the Promises of God, and in the Protection of Providence, whilst they were Strangers in this Country, knew that God would give it to their Seed, but that they should not inherit it till many Years after their own Death, and left it to God Almighty to introduce them, when, and by whatsoever Methods he should please, without limiting his Power, or prescribing to his Wisdom. This is the Truth of the History,

as *Moses* hath given it, and our Author's Account is Romance, Fiction, and Forgery, from one End of it to the other. And from hence

2. Appears the Falseness of his second Assertion, that *their real Design from first to last was upon Egypt*. I think the largest Charity can never suppose this to be any other than a wilful Misrepresentation; there being not one single Passage in the whole Old Testament, that discovers the least Footsteps of such a Design. The Passages before put together demonstrate the contrary, that all their Hopes and Promises center'd in *Canaan*, and that they had neither Desire or Design to fix themselves, or their Posterity, in *Egypt*.

S E C T VI.

Of the various Appearances of God to Abraham.

BUT were there in Reality any Promises of God made to these Patriarchs at all? Is not the whole Account related of them mere Illusion and Dream? Our Philosopher is of this Opinion, and thinks * *it well that it may be excused as a Dream*. He tells us: † *That before Abram's Name was changed into Abraham, the Appearances of Jehovah to him, and conversing with him, seem to have been only in a Dream*.

* Page 89, 90.

† Page 88.

And hitberto Abraham's Dreams are recorded—
Somniat ea quæ vigilans voluit—If any Man
 reads the *Hebrew History*, he will not find that
Abram's Dreams only are recorded during this Pe-
 riod ; nor is any one of the Revelations, that
 are said to be made to him, from the first he
 received, to the Time of the Change of his Name,
 intimated to have been made wholly in a Dream.
 The first is *Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3.* where the Manner
 how God spoke to *Abram* is not mention'd.
 The second, *Gen. xii. 7.* seems very plainly to
 have been given by *some visible Appearance* of
 God to him, out of a Dream. *Jehovah appear-*
ed unto Abram, and said, Unto thy Seed will I give
this Land. As to the third, *Gen. xiii. 14,---17.*
Lift up now thine Eyes, &c. cannot be Language to
 a Man in a Dream. *This Dreamer* goes on to assert:

That just before the great Promise (viz. *Gen.*
xv. 13,---21.) * *was made to Abram, the*
Word of Jehovah came to Abram in a Vision,
or a Dream, by which he was encourag'd not to
fear, since he should certainly have a Son and Heir
by Sarai his Wife, notwithstanding her great Age.
But Sarai's Pregnancy, the Birth of Isaack, and
the Inheritance of Canaan, had been yet only
dream'd of. One would think 'twas impossible
 for this Author to write Truth in any Thing,
 but that he takes Pleasure in misrepresenting and
 falsifying the History. For in this † Vision, or
 Dream, that he refers to, there is not one Word
 of a Promise about *Sarai*, and her great Age,

* Page 88, 89.

† *Gen. xv. 1,---5.*

and the Birth of *Isaack*; only in general, * *He that shall come forth out of thine own Bowels shall be thine Heir.* *Sarai* 'tis plain did not understand this Promise as relating to herself; and therefore she gave *Abram* her Maid, with this very Hope: † *It may be that I may obtain Children by her:* A Thing she would never have done, had she imagin'd that she herself was to have been the Mother of a Child by him. Yea, so far was she from any such Imagination, that when she heard afterwards the Promise, that she should have a Son, ‡ *she laughed within herself* at it, as a Thing highly improbable, if not absolutely impossible. Nor doth it appear that *Abram* ever imagined, from the Promise, *Gen. xv. 4.* that he should have an Heir by his Wife. For when God assured him: || *I will bless Sarah, and give thee a Son also of her;* the Patriarch *laughed* at the great Unlikelihood of the Thing, when himself was an hundred, and his Wife ninety Years old; and believing that the Promise of an Heir was already accomplish'd in the Birth of *Ismael*, cries out: § *Oh that Ismael might live before thee.* So true is it, what the Philosopher asserts: That *Sarai's Pregnancy and Isaack's Birth, had been yet only dream'd of;* not indeed by *Abram* and *Sarai*, but by the sleepy Philosopher himself.

** When he represents the whole Transaction between God and *Abram* recorded in the

* *Ver. 4.* † *Gen. xvi. 2.* ‡ *Gen. xviii. 12.*
 || *Gen. xvii. 16.* § *Gen. xvii. 18.* ** *Vol. III. p. 89.*
 fifteenth

fifteenth of *Genesis*, to have been carried on *in a Vision or Dream*; he either shews his Ignorance, or discovers his uniform Disposition to misrepresent and falsify his History. * All that is recorded in the first Part of this Chapter is expressly declared to be in a Vision, and not in a Dream; and the Circumstances of the Thing itself are such as demonstrate that *Abram was full awake*. The original Words may also be more literally rendred: *The Word of Jehovah came to Abram בְּחִזְיוֹן by a Vision*, by some visible external Appearance to him. And agreeably hereto, the History expressly tells us, that † *He, Jehovah, brought him, Abram, forth, and said to him: Look now towards Heaven, and tell the Stars*. And when he said to Jehovah, *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit this Land*, God commands him to prepare certain Creatures, for entering into a solemn Covenant with him. *Abram* accordingly provides them, and lays them in their proper Order, the Pieces and the Birds over against each other. These are Circumstances, I say, that demonstrate, that whatever this Vision or Appearance was, *Abram* was *absolutely awake*, and in no kind of Trance, or Sleep, or Dream; not to add, that the whole Transaction was in the Day-Time, before the Sun had set.

And even with Respect to ‡ *the great Promise*, as he calls it, in *Gen. xv. 12, 21. of the*

* *Gen. xv. 1.*

† *Ver. 5.*

‡ *Page 89.*

peaceable Inheritance of Canaan after four hundred Years, tho' he tells us, this was given in a deep Sleep or Dream; yet if was thus given, all that the Promise contains hath been made appear to have been punctually verified, and his Account of it shewn to be downright Misrepresentation and Falsehood. And the Inference to be made from it is, that God can as truly speak to Men by Dreams, as by Visions, or any other Methods whatsoever; and that Abraham's Dreams as recorded in Scripture were truly θεοπεμπται, sent by God himself; because established by the Event.

But it doth not appear to me that the whole Transaction was carried on whilst *Abram* was under this deep Sleep. 'Tis true, that the Revelation to *Abram*, that *his Seed should be a Stranger in a Land that was not theirs, and that they should serve them, and that they should be afflicted, four hundred Years, and that they should not possess the Land till the Iniquity of the Amorites was full*, seems to be given him in this Sleep; and to be partly *the Reason of that Horror* that came upon him, whilst he continued in it. But then all the subsequent Transaction seems to have been carried on whilst *Abram* was fully awake; because it was design'd as a solemn Ratification of the Covenant God made with *Abram* to give him and his Posterity the Land of *Canaan* for their Inheritance.

The

The * antient Method of confirming Covenants and solemn Engagements, was by preparing a Sacrifice, and dividing it into two Parts, and the Person or Persons covenanting passing between those Parts. This is evident from *Jerem. xxxiv. 18, 19. I will give the Men, which have not performed the Words of the Covenant, which they had made before me, when they had cut the Calf in twain, and passed between the Parts thereof, the Princes of Judah and the Princes of Jerusalem, the Eunuchs and the Priests, and all the People of the Land, which passed between the Parts of the Calf: I will even give them into the Hands of their Enemies.* And there are several Traces of this Custom to be found in the profane Historians. God was pleased to make use of the same Method, to confirm his Promise to *Abram*, in answer to his Request, *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* *Abram* by God's Order provides the Sacrifice, cuts the Beasts in two, and lays them in Order one over against another. After this *Abram* fell into a deep Sleep, and the Time of it is particularly remarked: *וַיֵּהָ לִשְׁכֹּשֶׁת לַבֹּיֹא*, when

* *Δια τομῆς ζώων θυομένων οἱ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ὄρκοις ἐγένοντο.* Eustath. in Hom. p. 191. Edit. Rom. And in another Place. *Τὸ δὲ φιλοτινὰ καὶ ὀρκία ταμεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς φιλοῦν καὶ ὀρκῶς ποιῆσαι δια ἐντομῶν, ἠγεν θυσιῶν.* p. 385. Hence comes the Expression of *ὀρκία ταμεῖν* used by Homer Il. γ. v. 94. and Herodotus 4. 70. agreeable to the Hebrew Manner of speaking in this very Promise to *Abram*, at v. 18. *כִּדְבַּר יְהוָה אֵת אֲבְרָם בְּרִית*. The Lord cut, or divided or made a Covenant with *Abram*, evidently alluding to the Division of the Beasts. Vid. Bochart. Hieroz. l. 2. c. 33.

the Sun † *was about to go down*, i. e. before it had actually set; and at this Season and during this Sleep, he received the Revelation of the sojourning suffering State of his Posterity. But yet all this Time the Covenant, and solemn Ratification of it, for *Abram's* Satisfaction, was wanting. And this succeeded *Abram's* Dream, and is expressly declared to be at a different Time, and introduced in such a Manner as bespeaks a different Manner of Transaction. And it came to pass, † *וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁשׁ בַּאֲחֶרְיִית הַיּוֹם* that *the Sun was gone down, and it was dark*. This must have been at least a full Hour after the former Revelation in the Dream. During this Darknes, *the smoaking Furnace, and the Lamp of Fire*, the Emblems of the divine Presence and Glory, passed between those Pieces, as God's solemn Confirmation of his Covenant, to give *Abram* and his Seed the Land of *Canaan* for an Inheritance. But to what End would all this Apparatus of a Sacrifice, and the Division of it into Pieces, and the passing of the Lamp of Fire and smoaking Furnace between them be, if *Abram* was not to be a real, an eye, a waking Witness to this Confirmation of God's Covenant with him? If *Abram* saw the Emblem of God passing between them only in a Dream, the Sacrifice needed not to have been prepared, and the real Confirmation *Abram* desired would have been still wanting. And therefore

* Ver. 12.

† Ver. 17.

I think it must be supposed, that he was now awake, saw the Tokens of God's Presence passing between the Pieces, and had hereby that solemn Ratification of the Promise that he asked; the solemnest that Men used to give when they plighted their Faith to each other, and therefore the most sacred that the Patriarch himself could ask from God. At this Time, during the passing of the Lamp and Furnace between the Sacrifice, in the Presence and Sight of *Abram*, God made and pronounced this Covenant with him: *Unto thy Seed have I given this Land from the River of Egypt unto the great River Euphrates: * The Kenites, &c.* Our Author here Interpolates the original Text, and adds: *At the same Time whilst Abram was under this heavy Sleep and fearful Darkness; of which there is not one Word in the Original. In that same Day, or at that same Time,* stands in immediate Connexion *with the Passing of the Lamp and Furnace;* and the Sense requires it should do so. For when should the Covenant itself be actually pronounced and made, but at the very Moment when the Ceremony of Ratification was transacted. And when the Philosopher adds: *'Tis well it may be excused as a Dream, since nothing of it ever came to pass, relating to all or any of the Countries they were to possess at the End of four hundred Years;* he could not but know, that no such Promise was ever made in the Passage he cites, and

* Pag. 89.

therefore will not easily be excused without a much severer Censure than merely that of a *Dreamer*.

Having thus blessed his Readers, * by telling them his own Dreams about the Appearances of God to *Abram*, he next takes notice of *Gen. xvi.* where, as he thinks fit to allow, *we have something of true History, or Matter of Fact, besides mere Dreams.* But even in telling this Part of the History, the Philosopher appears to be but *half awake*, and can't find out whether the Angel of the Lord that appeared to *Hagar*, appeared to her *in a Dream* or *in Reality*; i. e. as he elsewhere explains himself, whether she only dreamt of an Angel, or actually saw one. But could he have represented the Fact as he found it, or had he understood any Thing of the original *Hebrew*, he would not have introduced any of his Dreams here. For the whole Narration evidently proves, that the Historian intended a real Appearance, nor are *Hagar's* Reflections on it capable of any other Interpretation, if the Sense of them be rightly attended to. For she thus called *the Name of Jehovah* that spoke to her, *viz.* by the Angel: *אֵלֶּהָ אֵלֶּהָ* *Thou art the God of Vision*, i. e. *who appearest visible to me*; *אֵלֶּהָ* being here a Substantive, as *Jarchi* on the Place observes, as being pointed with a *Chateph Kametz*; in like Manner as *אֵל כְּבוֹד* *the God of Glory*, means the *glorious God*. She adds; as in our Translation:

Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?
 A Version, that I scarce know what Sense to make of. The Words in the Original are: **הֲלֹם רָאִיתִי אַחֲרַי רָאִי**, and the literal Version is: *What, do I see after the Vision?* In which Sense, the Word **רָאִי**, with the same Punctuation as is here used, is found 1 Sam. xvi. 12. She had seen *Jehovah*, or his Angel, and wondred that she saw and lived after such an heavenly Vision; it being an Opinion as antient as these Times, that such Appearances were attended with Death, or absolute Loss of Sight. Thus *Jacob*: * *I have seen God Face to Face, and my Life is preserved*; an Opinion that prevailed in the † Heathen World also, as may be made appear by several unquestionable Instances. And to perpetuate the Remembrance of this celestial Vision, she called the Name of the Well where she saw it, **בְּאֵר לַחַי רָאִי**. *The Well of the living Vision*, to point out both the Appearance, and the Preservation of her own Sight or Life after it.

* Gen. xxxii. 30. Exod. xxxiii. 20. Jud. vi. 22, 23; xiii. 22.

† Thus *Tiresias* is said to be struck blind after having beheld *Pallas*.

Α μὲν ἔρα, παῖδος δ' ὀμματα νυξ ἔβαλεν.

Α νυμφὶ δ' ἔβασσε· Τι μοι τὸν κῶρον ἐρεξας,

Ποτνια; τοῖετ' αἰμονες εἰσι φίλαι;

Ὀμματα μοι τὸ παῖδος ἀφείλεο· Τέκνον ἔλασε,

Εἶδες Ἀθανάσιος σῆθεα καὶ λαγόνας. Callim. Hymn.

in Lavacr. Pal. v. 82. &c. Ubi Vid. Illustriff. Spanheim. Notas.

The

The Appearances recorded in the 17th Chapter, this * learned Philosopher hath no curious Remarks to make on ; only that *we have an Account of a long Conference, and many Things that passed between God and the Patriarch.* He passeth on to the 18th, on which he bestows some few Reflections. The first remarkable one, which shews his Learning and Reading, is : That Abraham *ran to meet the three Men, and then addresses himself to Jehovah, and to them ;* grounding this *profound* Observation upon those Words of the Historian, as he gives them : LORD, *if I have now found Favour in thy Sight, go not, I pray thee, from thy Servant ;* imagining, that the Word we render, *My Lord*, was in the Original, *Jehovah*, or *Lord* ; whereas, the Word is, אֲדֹנָי *Adonai* ; which, to shew his own Ignorance, or impose on his Reader, he renders, *Lord*, which he should have translated, as in our Version, *My Lord* ; and which is used in many Places, as an *honourable Appellation* of Persons of Distinction ; and is evidently so here used by *Abraham*, who at first thought them to be *real Men*, and treated them as such ; as appears from Verses 3—10. *Abraham* therefore addressed himself, not as to *Jehovah*, but to one of the Men that appear'd to him, as he at first thought them to be ; who probably appear'd superiour to the other two, or was the nearest of the three, when he first addressed himself to him. His Desire to *wash their Feet*, and give them

an hospitable Entertainment, evidently proves, he took them all three for Travellers ; tho' the Title of *My Lord*, shews he took them for Travellers of Distinction. And therefore when the Philosopher, citing those Passages : *He said, I will certainly return to thee according to the Time of Life, and Sarah heard it in the Tent Door, which was behind HIM* ; explains the Words, *I* and *him* of *Jehovah*, he hath no Foundation for it in the History ; if he intended hereby to intimate, that *Abraham* apprehended that it was *Jehovah* who was then speaking to him. For tho' *Jehovah* did then speak to him by his Angel, yet when the Men went from him towards *Sodom*, *Abraham* accompanied them as Travellers only ; and it doth not appear that the Angel discover'd himself to him, till they were on their Way thither. Then *Jehovah*, viz. by the Angel, said : *Shall I hide from Abraham that Thing which I do* ; after which follows the Intercession of *Abraham* ; than which there is not to be found a finer Incident, or more affecting Passage in all the Writings of Antiquity ; whether we consider the great Condescension and Compassion of God, or the Benevolence of *Abraham*, the Friend of God. Our Philosopher's Reflection on it is rude and unmannerly : * *Abraham brought down Jehovah from Fifty to Ten, and got a Promise that the City should not be destroy'd, if only ten righteous Persons could be found there. But no Righteous*

* Page 92.

could be found there, but Lot, his Wife, and two Daughters. The Expressions, brought down Jehovah, and got a Promise, favour of the Politeness, and Reverence to Deity, that is peculiar to this Writer; and the *senseless Sneer* upon Lot and his Family, and the Angel's saving them from the common Destruction, is too obvious not to be seen by any careful Reader.

He tells us † farther, in Reference to this Passage of Sacred History, that *the Names and Characters of the three Men, and of Jehovah, are here so confounded, and interchanged, as if they were the same Persons, and what said by one was spoken by the other.* But the Confusion is in his Head, and not in the History; for what are these Names and Characters of the three Men that are thus confounded with *Jehovah*? In my Bible they have neither Names nor Characters assigned them. The three Men, are called three Men, and their Names never interchanged, because never mention'd; and the Discourse between *Abraham* and them is clear and intelligible, if our Philosopher had a Mind to have understood them. And tho' one of them is call'd *Jehovah*, yet the Historian had prepar'd us for this, in the Beginning of the Chapter, by telling us, that *Jehovah appeared* to him, that we might know that one of the three Persons, whom *Abraham* took for Men, was *Jehovah* appearing by his Angel. And if at the 10th Verse, instead of, *He said*, it had been, as it

might have been render'd, *And one of them said*; or if, *He said*, be taken as referring to him, who appear'd the principal Person of the three, and whom *Abraham* saluted with the Appellation of *Adonai, My Lord*; the whole will be clear and pertinent, for there is no apparent Confusion of Discourse in the whole Passage, but this; and this a little Candour and Thought would have cleared up to the Philosopher himself, could he have persuaded himself to deal by the *Hebrew* Historians, as all *honest Writers* think themselves obliged to do, by every other Author they treat of.

But he hath a particular * Reason for quoting this *confused Piece* of History, viz. *for the Peculiarity of the Phraseology, and to shew how different it is from our Way of Speaking and Thinking now*. That his Way of Speaking and Thinking is peculiar, I believe every Man who reads him, will readily allow; but in the Way the *Hebrew* Historians speak and think, there is little or nothing peculiar, but what the Subjects they treat off necessarily lead them to. When they speak of Angelical Appearances, they must speak of them, and of Angels personating *Jehovah*, they must represent them in the Characters they assumed. Our Philosopher, *in a deep Sleep*, imagines every Thing to be a *Dream*, and then pleasantly wonders at their *peculiar Phraseology*, and kindly leads us into the true Solution and Interpretation of it; and that by

* Page 90.

one single Observation, viz. that the whole * is a figurative Manner of Speech, and that this runs throughout the Hebrew Writings from first to last. Thanks to him for the friendly learned Hint. Jews and Christians are infinitely indebted to him, for extricating us all out of so great a Difficulty, and especially for guarding us against that Superstition, Enthusiasm, and the most unnatural and incredible Accounts of God and Providence, into which this Manner and Figure of Speech hath been turned.

At first indeed, it * had a very good moral Sense and Construction, and argued a pious and religious Trust in, and Dependance on God and Providence, and shews the great Piety of those antient holy Patriarchs, and their strict Regard to all the Dispensations of God's Providence towards them, in the whole Course of their Lives. But this Way of interpreting the Mind and Will of God to them, by the Dispensations of his Providence, when they carried it too far, and made too hasty Conclusions of this Kind, ran them into Enthusiasm, and sometimes led them into Errour. And of this he tells us, we have a remarkable Instance in Abraham himself, in the Case of his offering up his Son Isaac. But before I proceed to consider what he hath said on this Subject, I must just acquaint my Reader, what that Rule is which he gives us for the interpreting the figurative Phraseology of the Old Testament; for upon this depends all his Objections

* Vol. III. p. 93.

† Ibid. p. 96.

against this remarkable Piece of ancient and sacred History. The Rule is this : * *When ever Jehovah, or the supream God is said to come down from Heaven to Earth, to walk about from Place to Place, and to converse in a visible audible Manner with Men, we must understand it of God's speaking to them by such as he providentially sent to them, whom they received and entertained in their Houses, and who were considered as Angels, or Messengers from God. Thus also God declared his Will to them by the remarkable Occurrences of his Providence towards them, and very often by their Dreams.* The Particulars of this Account shall be hereafter examin'd, if God spare me Health and Leisure. I would only now observe, that tho' the Philosopher destroys by this Observation the whole History of *Moses*, and turns it all into Allegory, Figure and Fable, and is become a perfect *Mystical Cabalistical Jew* in his Way of Interpretation, yet that he brings us almost into as many and great Difficulties upon his own Scheme, as we are brought into by the *Mosaick* Account ; supposing it, as it evidently appears to be, a Series of Historical Facts ; and, I think, in some Respects, into much greater Difficulties. For he explains *Jehovah's* conversing with them in a visible Manner, of *God's speaking to them by such as he providentially sent to them ; and allows, that God declared his Will to them by remarkable Occurrences of Providence, and very often by their*

* Page 98.

Dreams. If he means, by *Persons providentially sent*, Persons that came without any Direction of Providence; by, *God's speaking to them by such Persons*, those Persons speaking to them, without any Order or Instruction of God; and, by *God's declaring his Will by Dreams*, Dreams neither sent by God, nor intended of God to convey the Notices of his Will to them; he abuses his Reader, and under a specious Shew of meaning something, hath no other Meaning, but that God never spoke to them, or convey'd his Will to them at all. If he means, that *God really sent* these Persons to deliver his Will to the Patriarchs, he must then allow, that the Persons thus sent had a Commission to go, and a Revelation to deliver; and that therefore the Patriarchs were obliged to regard them as Messengers of God, as really as if they had been Angels, and not Men. And if, by *God's declaring his Will to them very often by their Dreams*, he means, that these Dreams were sent by God, and sent on purpose to declare his Will; then God's Will was as certainly and as truly convey'd to Men in and by Dreams, as by living Persons when they were awake; and a divine Dream was as real a Rule of Action to them, as a waking Information. If then God instructed *Abraham* by *living Messengers* and *real Dreams*, he hath brought us back by his *wonderful Clew* into the same Difficulties where he hath found us; only with this Difference, that the usual and literal Way of Interpretation, and

and taking the History in the obvious Sense of it, gives *Abraham* a Rule of Conduct *certain* and infallible, so far as 'twas intended it should go; whereas he confesses, that * *in the Way and Method of knowing and judging the Voice and Will of God to them*, which he hath laid down, *they were liable to Errour, and sometimes actually mistaken*: And I will venture to add, that 'tis a Way infinitely more likely to be turned into *Superstition, Enthusiasm, and unnatural and incredible Accounts of God and his Providence*, than that which he exclaims against, and loads with these Absurdities.

ever.

S E C T. VII.

Of Abraham's offering up his Son.

THE Philosopher in order to account for the Appearances of God to *Abraham* tells us, that † *when they were suddainly and strongly impressed with any Thing of great Consequence, and which served to fix and form their Resolution for their future Couduēt, this was the Voice and Motion of God to them, and so they consider and speak of it in the Hebrew Dialect*. Thus *Abraham*, he tells us, ‡ *was strongly persuaded in his own Mind, that God would bless and prosper him in Isaack, and make of him a great Na-*

* Vol. III. p. 98.

† Page 95.

‡ Page 96.

tion; he firmly believed, that as God was able, so he would certainly raise his only Son and Heir again from the Dead, tho' he should sacrifice him, and burn him to Ashes; and he had strongly wrought himself up into such a Persuasion, that he concluded God, in Reality required it of him, and expected it from him. Accordingly he resolved upon it, as an Act of Obedience to God, and was just upon the Point of putting it in Execution, had he not been providentially prevented. This is the Account this moral Writer gives of the Reasons of *Abraham's* Conduct in this Affair. He was moved to it only by the strong Persuasion of his own Mind, and had enthusiastically wrought himself up into this Persuasion and God required it of him. Doth this Man think, that there is one Person in the World, that hath ever read the Bible, who doth not know this Account of the Reasons of *Abraham's* Conduct, to be as directly contrary to the plain History, as Falshood is to Truth? The whole Narration confutes this Fiction of the Moral Philosopher, and which I therefore beg leave to set before my Reader, in the Order and Light in which it stands in the original Records. And

I. I would observe that this whole Transaction, from first to last, is represented as appointed, begun, and carried on by God himself, and not taking its Rise from any enthusiastical Persuasion, or strong Imagination of *Abraham's* Mind.

Mind. * *God tempted Abraham, † and said, Take thy Son, and offer him for a burnt Offering.* The Mountain where he was to offer him was particularly pointed out by God: *One of the Mountains which I will tell thee of*; and to this Place *Abraham* by his Conduct and Direction came. And God, even *Jehovah*, himself is introduced as swearing at the Conclusion of it: ‡ *By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this Thing, and hast not withheld thy Son, thine only Son, that in Blessing I will bless thee, because thou hast obey'd my Voice.* The History is express, that this Sacrifice of *Isaack* was the direct Order and Appointment of God, even of *Jehovah* the most high God, and that *Abraham's* whole Conduct in this Affair was an Act of proper Obedience to him, and as such highly acceptable and worthy of a Reward. And herein the Author to the *Hebrews* agrees with the *Hebrew* || Historian.

And in Truth upon the most serious Review that I am capable of making of this Affair, I cannot see any Thing that could reconcile *Abraham* to such an Action, but the strongest Assurance of a real Command from God. He appears from the whole of his Conduct to have been a Man of great Prudence and Integrity; of which his living so long in a foreign Country, almost without Interruption, is an abundant Evidence: Of great Compassion and Benevolence, as appeared

* Gen. xxii. 1, 2. † Ver. 2, 3, 9. ‡ Ver. 16, 17, 18.
|| Heb. xi. 17, &c.

in that kind Intercession he made for *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*: And of *rational Principles* in Religion, of which his Acknowledgment and Worship of the true God * *the Possessor of Heaven and Earth*, in Opposition to the Idolatries of the Times he lived in, is a demonstrative Proof; and which farther appears from the frequent Commendations given to his Faith by God himself. Now what possible Inducement could there be, to a Man of such a Character, to sacrifice an only Son, but the certain Assurance of a divine Order for it? He must know, that the taking away the Life of his Child without a proper Reason and Warrant for it, was Murder and not Religion, and therefore could not be acceptable to the true God; that if he had not the Command of God to do it, he could have no possible Expectation of his Son's ever reviving; that therefore his taking away his Life would be impiously to frustrate all the Promises of God that related to and center'd in him, and to cut off all his own Hopes of Posterity by him. The Circumstances of his being a Son, an *only Son*, the Son of his *old Age*, given him by Miracle, and therefore an *extremely beloved Son*, were Arguments of Nature, that must prevail with a tender Father, against committing such an Act, but upon Reasons of the highest Importance. The Superstitions of the Times, in which he lived, could never prompt or favour such a Thought, both be-

* Gen. xiv. 22.

cause he had renounced the Deities and Superstitions of the Nations around him, and because the Sacrifice of Children was never practised, but upon Occasions of utmost Necessity, and to avert the most extream Calamities; and then not without the highest Reluctance and Horrour in those who offered them; Calamities that this Patriarch never felt or fear'd, and which therefore could never prompt him to such a Sacrifice. And therefore unless we suppose him *more superstitious* and weak than all the rest of Mankind, and to have entertain'd *more unnatural Notions* of the true God, than they had of their false Deities, 'tis impossible to imagine that Superstition could give rise to this Resolution and Purpose of *Abraham* to sacrifice his Son; since I know of no one Instance, in sacred or profane History, of Parents sacrificing their Children, as voluntary Offerings, much less an only Son, without the Apprehension of some dreadful Necessity compelling them to it.

The Philosopher indeed very *unphilosophically*, and contrary to all Appearances of Things, tells us: Abraham ** firmly believed, that as God was able, so he would certainly raise his only Son and Heir again from the Dead, tho' he should sacrifice him, and burn him to Ashes; and he had strongly wrought himself up into such a Persuasion, that he concluded God in Reality required it of him, and expected it from him. Accordingly he resolved on it as an Act of Obedience to God;*

* Vol. iii. Page 96.

thus resolving the whole of *Abraham's* Conduct into *Enthusiasm* ; or an Enthusiastical * *Way of interpreting the Mind and Will of God to him, by the Dispensations of his Providence towards him, in the most remarkable Occurrences of his Life.* The Philosopher here is silent as to that remarkable Occurrence of *Abraham's* Life, by which he wrought himself up into this Persuasion ; and hath not informed us, why he concluded, that God required him to sacrifice his Son, rather than himself, his Wife, *Eliezar* of *Damascus* his Steward, or any other of his Household ; the Reason, of God's being able to raise from the Dead, holding equally strong in any one of them as it did to *Isaack* ; and it being natural to think, that he would choose first to try the Experiment upon one of them, rather than on his own Son ; Enthusiasm, amidst all its Follies and Extravagancies, being generally extremely selfish and partial, and not easily persuaded into such extraordinary Sacrifices as these.

Besides, how came *Abraham's* Enthusiam to lead him into the Belief of a Notion of a Resurrection from the Dead ? If indeed the Conception and Birth of *Isaack* were miraculous, and *Abraham* considered it as a Kind of *supernatural Resurrection*, I acknowledge he might easily be lead into the Thought of a *second Resurrection* of his Son, upon a Command of God to sacrifice him ; especially as God had promised him, that *in Isaack his Seed should be called.*

But will the Philosopher allow the extraordinary Birth of *Isaack*, and the Reality of the Promises of God concerning him? If he will, *Abraham's* Notion of a Resurrection is accountable for, upon the Principles of Reason, without the Help of *Enthusiasm*; and the Consequence will be, that a Person, who had received such Benefits from God, and who could reason so justly concerning his Perfections, would not be very likely to reason himself, from these Perfections, into an Opinion that such an Offering would be the most acceptable Sacrifice he could present him, or that the best Return he could make to the divine Goodness for the Gift of a Son, was to destroy him; because 'tis supposing that true Reason would become the immediate Cause of the most unnatural and unreasonable Superstition, and lead Men to think that divine Favours were to be repaid with the most ungrateful Contempt of them. Nor is it easy to conceive how a Father, who complained of his being Childless as the highest Infelicity, and had received a Son in such an extraordinary Manner, and upon whose Life his Hopes of a genuine Posterity depended, shou'd by any Kind of Enthusiasm be wrought up to a Resolution of destroying him when he had him; nor prevailed on by any Reasons to do it but by as good an Assurance that God would raise him again, as he had that God miraculously gave him. A Command from God to offer him would necessarily lead him to such an Assurance, be-

cause he knew all the divine Promises depended on such a Resurrection; but without this, or some equally good Inducement to form such a Conclusion, 'tis *mere Enthusiasm* to imagine, that because *Abraham* believed God could raise him from the Dead, therefore he farther believed God would raise him, if he himself became the Murtherer and Destroyer of him.

No Instance can be produced of the like Effects of Enthusiasm, there is nothing in *Abraham's* Character that can lead us to suspect it of him; nor is it to be supposed that God would give a Son, in so miraculous a Manner, to a Person, whom he knew to be weak and enthusiastical enough to destroy him by an unnatural Superstition; or that if this was the Case, God would have any more interposed to have prevented the Fact, than he did in other Instances of a like Nature; especially as the Superstition of *Abraham* would not have had the same Appearance of Necessity and Constraint, which constantly occasioned the like Sacrifices amidst the Nations around him.

But if this Philosopher doth not allow the extraordinary and miraculous Birth of *Isaack*, nor the Reality of any of the Promises said to be made him by God, and can produce no *remarkable Occurrence* in *Abraham's* Life, that should lead him to think of a Resurrection from the Dead; then his Assertion, that *Abraham firmly believed that God was able, and certainly would raise his Son again from the Dead*, is an

Assertion

Affertion that hath no shew of Probability to support it; since *Abraham* could have had no more Reason ever to have thought of, or believed *the Strange*, and what the wisest Heathens accounted *the incredible* Doctrine of the Resurrection, than any other Man then living in the World: I think therefore from the Nature of the Thing, and the Circumstances of *Abraham*, that the History, which expressly declares that *God tried Abraham* by the Command to sacrifice his Son, carries in it the highest Probability, and that the Patriarch's Conduct is never to be accounted for, but from the full Persuasion and certain Knowledge that he had, that what he did was in actual Obedience to the divine Command. But

2. The End for which this extraordinary Sacrifice was appointed, is declared to be for * *the Temptation* or *Trial* of *Abraham*. נסה את-אברהם *God tempted Abraham*; and particularly for the Trial of his Obedience: † *Thou hast obey'd my Voice*. The original Word נסה signifies so to try any Person, as to give him an Opportunity of discovering his Abilities, Disposition, Piety and Virtue; and so as that the Person trying him may be able to commend or disapprove him, and justify his own Opinion of and Conduct towards him. Thus the Queen of *Sheba* came ‡ to prove Solomon with hard Questions, that is to try his Abilities, and by such Trial to know the Truth of the Report concerning him. And thus God tries or proves all

* Ver. 1.

† Ver. 18.

‡ 1 King. x. 1.

Mankind, *i. e.* furnishes them with the Opportunities of discovering their Tempers and Dispositions, and Regard to Virtue and Piety. And thus he tried *Abraham*, not indeed for his own Information. Possibly the * Angel of the Lord, whom God, *Jehovah*, employed to convey his Will to this Holy Patriarch, did not certainly know whether he could stand such a Trial. This seems to be intimated in those Words: Ver. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest God*; this is the surest Demonstration of the Truth of thy Piety towards him that can be given, *that thou hast not withheld thy only Son from me*, *i. e.* whom I by the Order of God have commanded thee to offer. But when the same Angel calls to him a second Time, and delivers him a Message from *Jehovah*, 'tis in quite other Language, more worthy of the most high God: *By myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah, because thou hast not withheld thine only Son, that in Blessing, I will bless thee, because thou hast obey'd my Voice*; in which Words the Obedience of the Patriarch is the only Thing taken Notice of and commended, without the least Intimation that *Abraham* was here-

* *Ipsi (Angeli) de profectu uniuscujusque nostrum dicunt, quia nunc cognovi quia tu times Deum. Verbi causa. Propositum habeo Martyrium, non ex hoc dicere ad me Angelus poterit, quia nunc cognovi quod tu times Deum. Deo enim soli cognitum est propositum mentis. Si vero accessero ad agones, protulero bonam confessionem, quæ inferuntur constanter cuncta suscepero, tunc potest dicere Angelus, velut confirmans me & corroborans: Nunc cognovi quod tu times Deum. Origen. Homil. in Gen. xxii. 12.*

by

by better known to God than before. Nor am I in any Pain least our Philosopher should prove, either that 'twas absolutely unnecessary, or in the least unfit, that such an high Instance of humane Obedience should be shewn even to Angels themselves.

But the true and immediate Use of this Temptation or Trial was for the Benefit of *Abraham* himself, that he might have the Opportunity of approving himself to God by an exemplary Instance of Faith and Obedience, and might thereby secure a signal Testimony from God himself in his Favour, and obtain a Reward worthy his Piety and Virtue; and that he might stand as an illustrious Example to his Posterity in all future Ages, and shew them the Necessity of a steady Adherence to the God he worshiped, and that the only Way to secure their Prosperity in his Protection and Favour, was to imitate the Faith and Piety of this Father and Founder of their Nation, by a constant Obedience *in all Things* to the Authority and Will of God. And therefore because God knew his Integrity, that it would stand approved under the most difficult Trials, he proved him in this extraordinary and tender Instance, that hereby he might appear to deserve that signal Honour he intended him, of being as it were the Head and *Father of all faithful Men* in all future Times, and to shew by him, that Faith in God was the one great acceptable Principle of Obedience, and the only Method in all Ages by which Men shou'd
be

be justified and accepted in his Sight: An Inference drawn by the Apostle *Paul* in several of his Epistles. And I presume that all Men have some Trials or other of their Fidelity and Obedience to God; and if these Trials are ordered to befall them, not for God's Information, but to testify their own Sincerity, and for the Benefit of others; to render themselves capable of a Reward, and to shew the Equity and Wisdom of God's Procedure in the dispensing Rewards and Punishments; 'tis ridiculous to pretend that *Abraham's* Trial was for God's Information; and uncandid, and an Argument of Prejudice, not to assign as the Cause of it, the general Reasons for these Permissions and Appointments of Providence to others.

I may add another, that is more than intimated in this History: *viz.* that whatever be the Difficulties of Obedience to the true God, there shall be a suitable Provision made by him for the Deliverance and Support of those that fear and trust in him. When *Isaack* said to his Father, * *Behold the Fire and the Wood, but where is the Lamb for a burnt Offering?* † *Abraham answered him: My Son, אלהים יראה, The Lord will provide for himself a Lamb.* And accordingly when the Angel called upon the Patriarch not to kill his Son, and directed him to the Ram that was to be offer'd up in the Room of him; *Abraham*, to perpetuate the Remembrance of this Deliverance, and for the Encouragement of all good Men under their

* Ver. 7.

† Ver. 8.

greatest Difficulties of Obedience to God in Time to come, called the very Name of the Mountain, יהוה יראה, *Jehovah, Fireh* or, *God will provide*; and from hence it came to be a proverbial Form of Speech, with which good Men encouraged themselves and others, to cast their Care on God under their greatest Straits: בהר יהוה יראה, *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be provided*, i. e. in the greatest Extremities God himself will take care.

Yea I think one Thing farther was evidently intended by this Name; *viz.* to prevent for the Future all such Kind of Sacrifices as these, by perpetuating the Remembrance of *the Substitute* that God provided in the Room of *Isaac*. For as God would not suffer him to be offered up, the Acceptableness of such Sacrifices to him, could never be collected hence, but rather the contrary, and that no Extremities could ever be so pressing as to put Men upon such an Expedient as this; for that good Men might as certainly conclude that God would extricate them from their Difficulties without it, as he did *Abraham* upon the Mount itself, when he had no immediate Prospect before him of any Deliverance.

3. *Abraham* had many Reasons to convince him, that this Command was really from God, and no Illusion or Deception. Had this indeed been the first Revelation, that he had received from him, the Case would have been much more difficult; tho' even had this been the Fact, I doubt not but God could have so revealed

revealed himself, as to have render'd him absolutely certain that the Command proceeded from himself. But 'twas quite otherwise. *Abraham* had had many Communications from and Converses with God. Divine Appearances to him were no new or strange Things. He left his native Country by divine Order, and came into *Canaan* under divine Direction. There God *appeared* to him and promised him *Canaan*, afterwards repeated this Promise to him, conversed with him as a Friend in a visible Manner, and confirmed the Grant to him by a solemn Sacrifice and Covenant. After this he had another glorious Appearance from the same *Jehovah*, who talked with this holy Patriarch, and before whose Majesty he fell down prostrate on his Face. He received from him the Promise of a Son and Heir from *Sarah*, when himself was near one hundred, and she ninety Years old, and found that God who appeared to him actually perform'd it. He stood before *Jehovah*, some glorious Appearance of him, when he made that solemn Intercession for *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and received from him the desired Answers to his friendly Prayers. So that *Abraham* well knew the Voice and the Appearances of God, as a Friend knows the Voice and Countenance of his Friend, and could never be deceived in the Judgment he formed of them. The same God was his Conductor and Guide in this whole Affair of *Isaack*, commanded the Sacrifice, told him the Place where 'twas to be offered, and actually lead him to it;

it; probably by the *Shechinah* of Glory that rested on it; for * *he saw the Place afar of*. And therefore if he certainly knew that the Command proceeded from the same God, that brought him out of *Mesopotamia*, led him into *Canaan*, enter'd into Covenant with him, gave him *Isaack* in his old Age, and frequently appeared to and conversed with him, he could not be liable to any Imposition in this Matter, nor at a Loss how to form his own Conduct in Consequence of the Command he received. The original Order to leave his own Country was a Command of a very extraordinary Kind, and *contrary to all the natural Principles and Passions of the human Constitution*; there being a Kind of an instinctive Fondness for it in the Breasts of all Men. And if *Abram* could be sure he had a Command from God to forsake it, he might equally be sure, by a like Kind of Revelation and Appearance, of his Command in the Case before us. And 'tis ridiculous to imagin that God should give any Injunction of this or any other Kind, without at the same Time making the Person, to whom he gave it, sure that it actually came from him. *Abraham's* whole Conduct in this Affair plainly discovers his full Satisfaction in the Case; for his Obedience to it appears ready and immediate, without any the least Hesitation or Difficulty. A Circumstance extremely remarkable; since in other Cases, of much less Importance, *Abraham* was not so easily satisfied; but had his Objections,

* Ver. 4.

and desired a solemn Confirmation : *Lord, What wilt thou give me ? Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it ?* The Language not of an over-credulous Man, and by every kind of Delusion easy to be imposed on.

4. The Command itself was *to offer up* his Son as a *burnt Offering*. העלהו לעלה. O. LXX. *Ανενεγκον αυτον εις ολοκαυτωσιν.* Offer him for a whole burnt Offering. *Jarchi*, and some other of the *Jewish* Interpreters here observe : That God did not say to him, *Kill him*, for that, say they, was not the Intention of God ; but only, *cause Isaac to ascend into the Mountain*, there offer him, and bring him down again. Tho' the original Word עלה doth frequently signify *to ascend*, yet this Observation will not clear up any Difficulty ; for tho', as appears by the Event, God did not intend that *Isaac* should be *really offer'd up*, and therefore did not *intentionally* command the putting him to Death, as a Sacrifice ; yet *Abraham* himself was not sure of this, and therefore * intended *actually* to have slain him, had this appeared really to have been the Will of God. However from hence 'tis plain, that God designed not to command or countenance *human Sacrifices* ; much less human Sacrifices by Way of Expiation and Attonement for Sin ; † or as a Means

* Tam grave præceptum, quod nec Domino perfici placebat, patienter & audivit, & si Deus voluisset, impleffet. Tertul. de Patient. p. 163.

† Ουδε τις συμφορα κατειχε κωνη. ης εδει την θεραπειαν αναιρεσει γενεσθαι δοκιμωτατε παιδες. Phil. de Abrahamo. p. 294.

of Deliverance from any extraordinary Calamities; of which there is not the least Intimation in the History, and of which *Abraham* could have no Need, as being already justified by his Faith, and in Circumstances of great Prosperity. The Command is precisely this: * *Offer him to me for a Burnt Offering*. Present him as a Sacrifice to me; *To me*, who gave him thee by a miraculous Birth, and have promised and sworn *to multiply thy Seed* by him *as the Stars of Heaven*. So that understood in its utmost Extent, it was a Command to *Abraham* only to yield up that Life to God for a Season, which God had sworn to prolong; to resign it to him as an Act of Obedience and Worship, which he had received as an Instance of peculiar and distinguishing Favour, and which he knew must be restored by him, who demanded the Sacrifice from him. *Abraham* was not *adept enough* in Moral Philosophy to dispute the Right of God to give such a Command, nor *too wise* to refuse Obedience to it, when given. And from hence it follows,

5. That had *Abraham* actually offered up his Son, in Virtue of this divine Injunction, the Action of taking away *Isaack's* Life would have properly been the Action of God himself, as really and truly as tho' God had taken away his Life, either in a natural Way, or by some extraordinary Method, immediately directed by him for this very Purpose; and that *Abra-*

* Ver. 2.

ham would have been only *the Hand* or Instrument of God to bring about and accomplish his Pleasure; as truly as the Knife in his own Hand was only the Instrument employed by him to execute his own Resolution. *Abraham* knew the Life of his Son was absolutely in the Disposal of him that gave him, and that he had a Right to resume it in what Manner he pleased, and that whether he fell by Distemper, or Accident, or by his own Hands, in Obedience to God, it was still God that took him from him. He might however justly reason, that God had peculiar Ends to answer, by giving him a Command of so extraordinary a Nature; after having given him this very Son in so miraculous a Manner: Either to give him an Opportunity of yielding a more illustrious Proof than ever of his Faith and Obedience; or to be a Testimony to the World, by preventing the actual Sacrifice, that he did not delight in any of them, and would never receive them; or to shew, that there are no Difficulties so great, but that God can easily extricate those who fear him out of them; or to be a more glorious Instance of his own Power, Goodness and Faithfulness in restoring him to Life, had he permitted *Abraham* to have taken it away; or with other Views, which tho' the Patriarch might not understand, yet he well knew were worthy of God, and would in the End be abundantly consistent with all the foregoing Promises God had made him. And therefore *Abraham*

ham readily consents in this Instance to act for God, without scrupling the Command, or curiously entring into the Reasons of it; as one that rightly judged God was to be obeyed in all Things, and who had already experienced the happy Effects of Faith in him, and Submission to him; and knew, that if he himself refused to offer his Son, that God had it in his Power by a thousand other Methods, to deprive him of so valuable Blessing.

6. Let us observe the Manner in which this extraordinary Command was delivered to him; extreamly tender and moving, and yet such as conveyed the very Reasons that strengthened his Faith and Trust in God. Our Translation, *Take now thy Son, thine only Son* *Isaack, whom thou lovest*, looses much of the Beauty and Force, as the Words lie in the original *Hebrew*, which run thus: *Take now thy Son, thine only Son, whom thou lovest, even* *Isaack*. Every Character rises higher and higher, and tended to make stronger Impressions on the Mind of this holy Man. *Take now thy Son*. This was not Description enough to distinguish him from *Ismael*. Therefore God adds, *thine only Son*, born to thee of thine own Wife; *whom thou lovest*, viz. with a peculiar Affection, as born to be thine Heir, and given to thee by Miracle; *even* *Isaack*, to whom I my self gave the Name, and with whom I have *established my Covenant for an everlasting Covenant*, and with *his Seed after him*; and *in whom* I have engaged *thy*

Seed shall be called. The naming of *Isaack* could not but bring to his Remembrance all the Promises he had received from God concerning him, and furnish to his Mind various Arguments to reconcile him to the Command that was given him. And therefore

7. *Abraham* acted in this Affair upon such Reasons and Motives as were rational in themselves, and abundantly sufficient to reconcile him to whatever should appear to be the Will of God concerning it. He had three full Days to deliberate concerning the Action, and no doubt but he weighed it very seriously in his own Mind, both in the Nature and Circumstances of it. And, I think, he could have but two Views before him : Either that God *would prevent* the actual sacrificing him, or *permit* that Sacrifice to take place. To obey he was determined, let the Event be as it would ; tho' I apprehend he appears to have been somewhat *uncertain* what that would really be. Probably he might hope, that God did it only *to try him*, and to give him a farther Opportunity of displaying his Faith in, and Resignation to him ; and might secretly reason thus with himself : If I readily comply with the Injunction, God, as he hath in other Instances dealt bountifully with me, may in this also reward me, by sparing that Life, which he finds me willing cheerfully to resign to him. And even by this he would have discovered a noble Confidence in, and Reliance on the Divine Goodness. And, I think,

think, the very History furnishes this Remark. Some such Hope surely must have been in *Abraham's* Mind, when he tells his Servants, *I and the Lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you*; plainly discovering, at least, some Prospect of returning to them with his Son. And, I think, this Intimation is much stronger in what he said to *Isaack*: *My Son, God will provide himself a Lamb for a Burnt-offering*: Words, which tho' they don't imply a Certainty that he should offer a Lamb in the room of *Isaack*; yet, I think, evidently shew, that the Patriarch might hope and could not tell, but that God might himself provide the wished-for Exchange.

But, as this was an Uncertainty, he went with a fixed Resolution to accomplish whatever should appear to be the Pleasure of God, and therefore to sacrifice his Son, if God should, in Reality, demand it. And surely, he must resolve upon such Reasonings as these. *Isaack* is the Son, upon whom all the Promises of God depend. If I lose him, all those Promises must fall without Accomplishment. But this cannot be, for the Promise and Oath of God are engaged for the Performance. How can the Command then to offer him, and take away his Life, be consistent with these Promises? *Isaack*, I know, must live. Can he live, if I take away his Life? Can God restore him after he is dead? Yes; I know he can, for he was born of two Bodies dead by Age, created as it were out of

Death, and therefore can and must be restored to me from Death, by the same Power that gave him. It was in the very Nature of Things impossible, that *Abraham* could imagine the Command to sacrifice *Isaack*, was a Command *absolutely to deprive* him for ever of *Life*. This would have been inconsistent with the whole of God's Conduct towards him, and absolutely destructive of all his Faith and Confidence in God. He knew the Preservation and Continuance of *Isaack's* Life was as certain as the Promises of God ; and therefore, he positively tells his Servants : *We will go yonder and worship, and come again unto you* : Words not spoken to deceive his Servants, least they should prevent him in the intended Sacrifice ; but expressive of his Faith and full Assurance, that he should return to them with *Isaack*, and therefore with *Isaack* restored from the Dead, if God should permit him to offer him as a real Sacrifice. These, or such like, must have been the Sentiments of *Abraham* on this Subject, to which his former Experience of God's Power, in the Conception and Birth of *Isaack*, and his Persuasion of the Impossibility of God's frustrating his Promises, must necessarily and naturally lead him ; agreeable to the Account given by the Author to the *Hebrews* : * *By Faith Abraham, when he was tried, offer'd up Isaack, and he that had receiv'd the Promises, offer'd up his only begotten Son, of whom it was said, That in Isaack*

* Heb. xi. 17, 18, 19.

shall thy Seed be called, accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the Dead.

And this Account of *Abraham's* Faith in the Power of God to raise his Son, given by the Author of this Epistle, is founded, not on Tradition and Authority, but on the Nature and Reason of the Thing. *He that had received the Promises, offer'd up his only begotten Son*; that very Son to whom those Promises related, and by whose Life alone they could be accomplished. He offer'd up *his only begotten Son, of whom it was said; That in Isaack shall thy Seed be called*; i. e. His Posterity shall be thy proper Seed, and be called and accounted thy Family: An Assurance that could be in no other possible Manner verified, but by his Resurrection, if God permitted him to be put to Death. And therefore the Inference the Apostle makes, *He accounted that God was able to raise him from the Dead*, doth not depend merely on the Apostle's own Authority, but upon the most certain Evidence of Truth; it being the most obvious and natural Inference the Patriarch could make from the Promise of a numerous Posterity by him, and the Command to offer him for a Burnt-offering, put together; especially, as he had had a Proof of the Divine Power in his Birth, equal to what was necessary to be exerted in raising him from the Dead. And considering the venerable good old Man in this Situation, how glorious an Instance was he of Faith in, and Reliance upon the Power and Goodness of God.

If he had some distant Hope that God might spare the Sacrifice, it was on this Persuasion, that *God was a Rewarder of those that diligently seek him*, and that he would mitigate the Trial, when he had suffered it to proceed so far, as to ascertain and display the Fidelity of his Servant. If, on the other hand, it should appear to be the Pleasure of God, that the Sacrifice should be actually offer'd, he trusted in his God, that his Obedience should be rewarded by the Resurrection of his Son ; and was abundantly assured, that God was able to accomplish it. So that tho' he might be somewhat dubious as to the Event, yet it doth not diminish the Value of his Faith, in the least alter the Nature of it, or render it less rewardable in the Estimation and Judgment of God. And from these Things it follows :

8. That God neither commanded, nor *Abraham* ever intended to *offer an Humane Sacrifice* to God, in the Sense and Manner, in which Humane Sacrifices were offer'd up to their Idols, by the Heathen Nations ; *i. e.* God never order'd *Abraham* to put his Son so to Death, as absolutely to destroy him, nor had the Patriarch any the least Imagination or Apprehension that he was thus to die by his Hands. He had as much Assurance to the contrary, as the Promise, and Oath, and Covenant of God could give him. Whether he was to die or not, God had not absolutely determined by the Command to sacrifice him, nor could *Abraham* be sure. Had he given

ven the Stroke, he knew God could heal him ; had he actually taken away his Life, he was assured God could recover it, and must do it, to be faithful to himself and him. The utmost therefore that *Abraham* thought of, was a momentary Pain, a short Death to his beloved Son ; not the total perpetual depriving him of Life, which he knew God could not command consistent with his Engagements ; and this short Death, had it been permitted, he had abundant Reason to believe, as it would be no real Injury to his Heir, would some how or other turn to both their Advantage, as in the Event it actually did. And this very Consideration greatly alleviated *the Horrour* of the Fact, and was undoubtedly one principal Reason of the Readiness *Abraham* shewed to engage in it.

All *the Common-place Talk*, therefore, of Unnaturalness, Immorality, Barbarity, Murther, and the like, which is usually employ'd in declaiming against this Action, is quite foreign to the Purpose, and supposes a Fact, that neither enter'd into the Command of God, or the Imagination of Man. Humane Sacrifices, as they were offer'd by the idolatrous Nations, was the absolute, and total, and perpetual depriving the Person to be offer'd of his Life, and that by Way of Attonement, and appeasing the offended Deity ; not one single Circumstance of all which enter'd into the Sacrifice of *Ijaack* ; and, if the Thing be rightly consider'd, the Trial of *Abraham* in this Affair, had the Child been
actually

actually to be killed, had been only this : Whether he, who could trust in God to provide for him a Country, when he left his own ; who believed God, when he promised him a numerous Posterity ; who believed God could give him a Son by *Sarah*, when both their Bodies were dead by Age ; as incapable of producing a Son thro' Age, in a natural Way, as tho' they had been actually dead ; and who had experienced God was able to give him, contrary to what was possible by the Course of Nature ; could also trust the same God in one farther Instance, and believe that *he was able to raise him* a second time, from *another Kind* of Death. God tried him, the Patriarch obeyed him ; and hereby shewed a rational Dependance on, and steady Faith in God ; and justly therefore stands upon Record as *the Father of the Faithful*, and as a noble Example of Fidelity and Obedience to God, throughout all Ages of the World. It is also farther generally observed upon this Subject,

9. That as *Abraham* shewed himself willing to execute God's Commands, so *Isaack* readily consented to be offer'd up by the Hands of his Father. The ancient *Jewish* Writers were of this Opinion. The *Jerusalem* and *Jonathan's Targum* both intimate to us this very Circumstance. * *Josephus* also gives the same Account of it ; and these Testimonies I mention, not as Proofs of the Thing itself, but only to shew the

* Δεχεται προς ιδοσιν της λογους η — αρμυση επι τον βαμον η την σεσηνη. *Jos. Antiq.* l. i. c. 13. § 4.

Sense of the ancient *Jews*, and the Tradition that had been conveyed down to them by their Ancestors relating to this Circumstance ; and of the same Opinion are many of the modern *Jews*. And this is favoured by the Consideration of the Age of *Isaack* at this Time, who must have been well grown, as may be made appear by many Circumstances. For between his Birth, and the Command to sacrifice him, he was weaned ; and *Ishmael*, who was but fourteen Years old at *Isaack's* Birth, was grown up, and actually married ; and after this Abraham sojourned many Days in the *Philistines* Land, before he received this Order from God ; which probably was given him but a little before *Sarah's* Death, since the Account of that Event follows in the next Chapter. Now from the Birth of *Isaack* to *Sarah's* Death was thirty-seven Years ; and therefore, I think, we may at least allow him to be of the Age * *Josephus* reports him to have been, viz. *twenty-five* ; especially, as he carried the Wood prepar'd for the Burnt-offering, and therefore must have been of an Age and Strength sufficient to bear the Quantity that was necessary for such a Purpose. And if he was of this Age, or near it, and able to carry the Wood that was to burn the Sacrifice ; he appears to have been strong enough to have resisted his Father, an old Man of an hundred and twenty-five Years, and prevent the Execu-

* Id. Ibid. § 2. Τὸ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ πεμπτήν ἢ εἰκοστὴν ἔτος ἔχοντος, τὸν τε βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος, κ. τ. λ.

tion of his Purpose. And therefore, the suffering himself to be bound, and laid on the Altar as a Victim, must have been with his own Consent; which the Knowledge of his Father's Integrity and Piety, and probably the Appearance of the very Glory on the Mount, might be the Occasion of his chearfully giving. And this Circumstance would naturally make the Thing somewhat easier to his Father; and is the more probable, because Children in those primitive Times were more entirely subject to their Father's Power, than is now permitted by the Laws of Society.

'Tis well known, that amongst the ancient *Romans* the Power of the * Father over the Children was absolute, so that they might imprison them, scourge them, sell them, send them to servile Labours, or put them to Death. It was one of the Laws of the twelve † Tables: *Let the Father have Power over the Son as to Life and Death, and the Liberty of thrice selling him.* The same Custom prevailed amongst the ancient † *Egyptians*, and amongst the *Hebrew* Patriarchs

* Εδωκεν εξουσιαν πατρί καὶ υἱί, καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τε βίη χρόνον, εἰν τε ἐργεῖν, εἰν τε μασιγῆν, εἰν τε δεσμίον ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐργῶν κατεχεῖν, εἰν τε ἀποκτείνουσαι προαιρηταί— ἀλλὰ καὶ πωλεῖν ἐφίκε τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί. Dionys. Hal. Rom. Ant. l. 2. p. 94. Edit. Hudson. Vid. etiam Ibid. p. 124.

† Habeat paterfamilias jus in eum vitæ et necis, terque eum venundandi potestatem.

§ Κατὰ μὲν τῶν γονέων τῶν ἀποκτείναντων τὰ τέκνα θανάτου μὲν ἐκώρισαν—ὁ γὰρ δίκαιον υπέληφθῃ τὸ τε βίη ἐρίσκειν τὸς τὸν βίον τοῖς παῖσι δεδωκότας. Diodor. Sic. p. 70. Edit. Welch.

them-

themselves ; as is evident from the Case of † *Tamar*, whom *Judah* her Father-in-Law, upon an Accusation of Whoredom, order'd to be *brought forth and burnt*. So that 'tis not at all to be wonder'd at, that *Isaack*, tho' of Age sufficient to have resisted, should have readily consented in this respect to his Father's Pleasure, especially as he knew his Father acted by a Divine Command.

Nor do I think, that the Circumstance of *Abraham's binding Isaack*, was any Argument, as Mr. *Le Clerc* intimates, of any Violence offer'd to him ; but possibly might be done in Conformity to the common Custom of binding Sacrifices, or to prevent his struggling in the Agonies of Death, if he was really to die. I might add, that the same Arguments that made *Abraham* ready to offer him, might, when set before *Isaack*, make him the more willingly submit to it. On these Accounts, had he been offer'd, 'twould have been with less Appearance of Violence and Injustice ; and if *Abraham* acted, upon the whole, in Obedience to a Divine Command, as the History affirms ; if he knew the Death of his Son, if God had permitted it, was to be but for a small Season, if he thought he had a natural Right over him thus to sacrifice him in Obedience to God ; and if, as seems extremely probable, *Isaack* himself voluntarily submitted to God's Order, and his Father's Pleasure, the Action was fit and justifiable in

† Gen. xxxviii. 24.

its Nature, and contrary to no Law humane or divine. This is the Light in which this Part of the Scripture History appears to me, and in which I can see nothing unworthy of God, nor any Thing inconsistent with any moral Obligations whatsoever. But 'twill be necessary to examine the Account given of it by our Philosopher, and his Objections against it. And

I. Whereas the Sacred History affirms, that God *tempted, or tried, or proved Abraham*, our Philosopher objects : * *Nothing can be more absurd, than to imagine that God would command Abraham a Thing not fit to be done, only to try what he would do, as if he did not know before, without any such Trial.* If he means by a Thing *not fit to be done*, a Thing in its own Nature contrary to Reason, and *morally unfit*, the Objection is nothing to the Purpose ; because, as shall be shewn, the Thing commanded was not thus unfit to be done. If he means a Thing, which, tho' the doing of it implied no natural or moral Unfitness, yet God did not, for wise Reasons, permit to be done ; then 'tis not absurd that God should command such a Thing by way of Trial ; because, if the Thing said to be commanded be not essentially unfit to be done, it is not essentially unfit to be commanded ; and if it be fit for God to make Trial of the Virtue and Fidelity of his Creatures, he may make this Trial as well by a Command to do a Thing, that he will not permit to be fully

* Vol. III. p. 97.

and finally executed, as by any other way whatsoever, if a proper Trial can be made of a reasonable Creature by such a Command ; and especially, a Trial peculiarly remarkable and exemplary. The great Trial of all Men, with respect to God, is that of their Faith in, and Obedience to him ; and the Command of God to *Abraham* to offer his Son, was as substantial and full a Trial of him in these respects, as could be in the Nature of Things ; and by Consequence the Command, that carried in it this Trial, was *not absurd*, but wisely given, because it fully answered the Design. And as the End of this Trial did not in the least depend on the actual Execution of this Command, God, when the Trial of *Abraham's* Faith had been fully made, might wisely and reasonably prevent such Execution of it. And when the Philosopher adds : *As if God did not know before what he would do, without any such Trial ; 'tis a mean and trifling Cavil, unworthy of a Man that pretends to Reason and Philosophy. Did any Man of Sense ever pretend to affirm, that the Trials, which God suffers to befall Mankind in the Course of his Providence, are for the Divine Information ? Or, that Abraham was tried, because God did not know before what he would do, without any such Trial ? Such absurd Suppositions belong not to the Divines, but to the modern Moral Philosophers. The Divines * know with-*
out.

* Διο λεγεται πειραζεσθαι Αβρααμ, ου ως το Θεο δρομένω μαρτυρεν την αυτε αρετην, αλλ' ινα ημεις τη πειρα αυτη κ' τοις εργοις

out their Instruction, and knew long before this Philosopher was born, that God tries no Man for his own Information, but that he tries all Men, to ascertain and determine their Characters, to give them Opportunities for their excelling in Virtue and Piety, and to justify his own Conduct towards them, in the Distributions of Rewards and Punishments, whether in the present or future Life. And this was the View of *Abraham's* Trial, that God might afford him an illustrious Occasion of shewing his Faith in the Divine Power and Veracity, give him the Honour of a singular Commendation, and make him happy in a distinguishing Reward. If therefore there be any Absurdity in this Trial, it must be because 'tis absurd for God to try Men at all, or try them by different Methods, and proportion their Trials to their Faith, or try them in order to reward them, or reward them in Consequence of their Trial, or justify his own Equity and Wisdom in the Rewards that he confers. But what is our Author's Morality and Philosophy, that thus take on them to censure the Divine Benevolence and Equity, and charge the Display of them with Folly and Absurdity?

2. He represents *Abraham* as acting in this whole Affair, by * *Fancy, Conceit, and mere enthusiastical Imagination*. It may be probable

εργοις μαθωμεν την αρετην αυτου. Σημειωσαι δε, οτι τοσούτον ωφελιμοι οι παρασμοι, ωσε η αυτοσ παραζει, ινα δοκιμωτερος βειξη. Theophil. in Heb. xi. 17.

* Vol. I. p. 133.

enough,

enough, says he, *that Abraham had such a Belief or Conceit*, viz. that he was commanded by God. And again : * *He firmly believed, that as God was able, so he would certainly raise his only Son and Heir, again from the Dead, tho' he should sacrifice and burn him to Ashes ; and he had strongly wrought himself up into such a Persuasion, that he concluded God, in reality, required it of him, and expected it from him. Accordingly, he resolved upon it, as an Act of Obedience to God, and was just upon the Point of putting it in Execution.* But this is not giving the History as he found it, but forging a new one to suit his own Purposes and Scheme. The Sacred Historian expressly declares the whole Affair, from the Beginning to the End, was conducted by God ; and that *Abraham's* Behaviour was finally commended and justified by *Jehovah*, and all the former Promises confirmed to him by the most solemn Oath of God, as the Reward of his Obedience in this remarkable Instance. In Opposition to this, to talk of Enthusiasm, and Imagination, Conceit, and wrought up Persuasion, is quite besides the Purpose, and defrauding the Patriarch of the one great Circumstance that is the true Vindication of his Conduct ; for the Philosopher himself justifies him upon this Supposition, when he tells us : † *No doubt but every positive Law, of what Nature or Kind soever, must be just and right, supposing it to be a Command from God, how unreasonable or unfit so-*

* Vol. III. p. 96.

† Vol. I. p. 134.

ever it might appear to our weak, imperfect, and limited Understanding ; and therefore, as Abraham is expressly declared to act by such a Law, so far his Conduct was just and right. If the Philosopher would do any Thing to the Purpose, let him prove, that all that is said of God, and the Angel, and Jehovah, in this History, is interpolated and forged ; and that his Words, Enthusiasm, Conceit, wrought up Persuasion, and the like, were originally in the Text, and should be accordingly restored to it. Or let him, according to his own most learned and critical Method of explaining these Divine Appearances, tell us how we are to understand the Words : God tempted Abraham : The Angel of the Lord called to him out of Heaven : By myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah : Whether of a Dream, or a Traveller, the Death of a Relation, an Occurrence, and the like. We have God, the Angel of Jehovah, and Jehovah himself in this History, and we will not part with them for any Conceit, or Dream, or Traveller, or Occurrence, that his philosophical Invention can conjure up. To change real Appearances for mere Dreams, Angels of God, speaking from Heaven, for mere Travellers, the Voice of Jehovah for Occurrences and Deaths of Relations, opens the Door to ten thousand Delusions and Mistakes, and destroys all Supposition and Reality of the Voice and Will of God, and therefore makes the Philosopher's Imagination, that Abraham mistook them, quite impertinent and senseless.

senseless. For how could he *mistake the Voice and Will of God*, when, according to our Critick, he never heard the one, nor had any real Signification of the other?

What he says, that Abraham *had strongly wrought himself into a Persuasion that God in reality required him to put his Son to Death and burn him to Ashes, and that accordingly he resolved on it as an Act of Obedience to God*; is more than the Philosopher can prove. *Abraham*, as I have shewn, appears to have *been uncertain* as to the Nature and Extent of the Command, whether *Isaack* should be really sacrificed, or a Lamb in his Room. All that he resolved on, was to go as far in his Obedience to God, as God should direct him, and even to sacrifice and burn his Son if he found it to be the Will of God that he shou'd. If he should find that God would dispense with this Sacrifice, he never resolved to offer it; and his Integrity and Faith in God was equally virtuous and rewardable, if he resolved only to proceed just as far as God directed him, without ever actually resolving on what he was not sure was the Subject of the Command, *viz.* to slay his Son, and reduce him to Ashes on the Altar. If at last it shou'd appear, that God did in reality demand this Sacrifice, he was then determin'd to offer it, for the very Reason the Philosopher mentions, because he firmly believed, that as God was able, so he would certainly raise up his Son again from the Dead. And I presume

Abraham's Faith in the Power of God, was not mere Conceit, Enthusiasm, and wrought up Persuasion; no, nor his believing that God would do it, considering that this was necessary to vindicate his Truth and Faithfulness.

3. He objects farther, that * 'tis evident in *Fact*, that Abraham had mistaken the Mind and Will of God, because God prevented him in the Execution; and that we must suppose, either first, that there are some Circumstances omitted in this Story, that might have set it in a clearer Light, † or that Moses mistook the Case; or else that Abraham was under a Delusion in this Case, and had wrought himself into a wrong Persuasion, and mistook the Voice and Will of God to him. But I think we need not one of these Suppositions to clear up and vindicate this History; and that it may be much more rationally supposed, either that the Philosopher did not understand it, or did not care to represent it as he found it. To talk of *mistaking the Mind and Will of God*, when he allows nothing of God in the Affair, but ascribes the whole of it to Delusion and Conceit, is to contradict himself, and abuse his Reader. And upon Supposition that the Account of the Historian is true, that God commanded him to offer his Son, yet the Philosopher's Assertion is far from being so, viz. that Abraham *mistook the Mind and Will of God*. That *Abraham* did not so fully understand it,

* Vol. III. Pag. 97.

† Vol. I. Page 133.

as to be absolutely sure of the Event, but left the Decision intirely to God, and resolved absolutely to be governed by his Direction, this I readily allow, and think I have proved. And as he was in this Uncertainty, 'twas impossible he could be resolved on his own Conduct, any farther than as to this general Point ; that at all Hazards he would comply with the Will of God, whatever it should appear to be ; which surely was not such an Enthusiasm and Delusion, as to be unworthy of Pardon, by a *truly Philosophical* Mind. The Command was express and plain : *Offer him for a Burnt-Offering.* And *Abraham* understood it as well, as if God had said : Offer me a Lamb for a Burnt-Offering. He could not therefore be mistaken in the Nature of the Command, but was only uncertain how far God would permit the Execution of it. And this Uncertainty was necessary, to answer the Design intended by the Order, *viz.* that *Abraham* should be put to a farther Trial of his Faith in the Power and Veracity of God, by being permitted to go so far, as to shew a determined Purpose even to sacrifice his only Son. For this was giving the most substantial Proof of the Strength and Excellency of his Faith.

Nor is there any Omission of any necessary Circumstances in this History. We have the Command of God express and clear, the Reason of giving it, the Obedience of *Abraham* to it, and the Commendation of God to justify and approve it. The whole Story as it is told,

N 3

appears

appears a plain, artless, honest Narration, needs no Circumstances to set it in an intelligible Light, and perfectly frees the Patriarch from all Suspicion of Delusion, and if it fixes any Blame, fixes it not on *Abraham*, but on that God, to whose Will he conformed himself. *Moses* evidently related it as he found it, nor is there a single Circumstance to create Suspicion either of Want of Fidelity or Care. But

4. Tho' he assigns the Reasons of *Abraham's* Conduct in this Instance to Conceit, and Enthusiasm, to Delusion and mistaking the Will of God; yet if this should not do, he hath another ready at Hand; viz. * *that these Hebrews always looked upon human Sacrifices, from the very Beginning, as the highest and most acceptable Acts of Devotion and Religion, when freely offered to the true God, as is plain in the Case of Abraham. And this, he adds, is a plain Proof of the common Notion, or general received Opinion of that Time, that human Sacrifices might be enjoyn'd and accepted of God as the most valuable and meritorious Part of Obedience; and that the Blood of Man, for the Expiation of Sin, and procuring the divine Favour, was much more efficacious than the Blood of Beasts. And again, † we must suppose, that humane Sacrifices are agreeable to the Nature and Perfections of God, and may be commanded. And this indeed is what Abraham seems to have believed, and been persuaded of. And the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews*

* Vol. III. p. 132, 133.

† Vol. III. p. 97, 98.

supposes

supposes the same Thing, that Abraham's Faith and Resolution upon it were good and meritorious in this Case, and consequently that human Sacrifices are agreeable to and consistent with the Nature and Perfections of God, and may accordingly be commanded, and made a positive Duty by Revelation.

Humane Sacrifices I am very much inclined to believe, were very anciently in Use. *Porphyry* as quoted by *Eusebius*, tells us, that such Sacrifices were very ancient in * *Egypt*; and particularly of the † *Phenicians*, that in any great Calamities, whether of Wars, or Pestilence, or excessive Drought, they choose one of the dearest to them, and sacrificed him to *Saturn*, and that the *Phenician History* is full of Instances of Persons who made these Sacrifices. And ‡ *Sanchoniathon*, in his *Phenician History*, translated into Greek by *Philo Biblius*,

* Κατελυσε δε ἡ ἐν Ἡλίῃ πόλις τῆς Αἰγυπτῆς τὸν τῆς ἀνδρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἀμώσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανέθω. Ἐθύνοντο δὲ τῇ Ἡρᾷ, καὶ ἐδοκιμαζόντο καθάπερ οἱ ζήσημενοι καθαροὶ μύσχοι καὶ συσφραγίζομενοι. Ἐθύνοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 4. c. 16.

† Φοινίκης δὲ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἢ πολεμῶν, ἢ λοιμῶν, ἢ αὐχμῶν, ἐθύνοντων φιλτάων τινα ἐπιληφίζοντες τῷ Κρονῷ. καὶ πληρῆς τε ἡ φοινικικὴ ἱστορία τῶν θυσιῶν. Id. Ibid. Et Cyril. cont. Jul. l. 4. p. 129. Et Philo. de Abr. p. 293.

‡ Ἐθὺς ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδυνῶν, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς, τὸ πρᾶπτημενὸν τῶν τεκνῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἐθνὸς εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι, λυτρῶν τοῖς Τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. Κατεσφάζοντο δὲ οἱ διδομένοι μυσικῶς Κρονὸς ταῖν βασιλευσὶν τῆς χώρας, ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας Νυμφῆς Ἀνώβεϊ λεγομένης, υἱὸν ἐχὼν μονογενῆ, κινδυνῶν ἐκ πολέμου μεγίστων κατειληφῶν τὴν χώραν, βασιλικῶς κοσμησας ὀχημασί τῶν υἱῶν. Ῥωμὸν τε κατασκευασάμενος ἀφ' ἐθὺς. Id. Ibid.

tells us it was usual with the Ancients, in any great Calamities or Dangers for the Governours of their Cities or Countries, to deliver their favourite and beloved Child, to the Slaughter, as a Ransom to the avenging Demons, to prevent the common Destruction; and that *Chronus* or *Saturn* himself, who was King of *Phenicia*, having an only Son by *Anobret*, a Native of that Country, dressed him up in royal Habit, and sacrificed him upon an Altar he built for the Purpose, because his Country was endanger'd by a bloody War. *Chronus* or *Saturn* here is unquestionably *Ham*, 'to whom *Phœnicia* or the Land of *Canaan* fell, and whose Posterity peopled it; so that according to *Sanctoniathon* humane Sacrifices were introduced by him, and thence became frequent amongst his Posterity. And that these Sacrifices were in Use amongst these People is confirmed by *Moses* in that remarkable Prohibition, which I would recommend to the Consideration of the Philosopher: * *When the Lord thy God shall cut off the Nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their Land: Take heed to thy self that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their Gods, saying, How did these Nations serve their Gods? Even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God. For every Abomination to the Lord*

* Deut. xii. 29, 30, 31.

which he hateth have they done unto their Gods. For even their Sons and their Daughters have they burnt in the Fire to their Gods. So that according to sacred and profane History, human Sacrifices were both very ancient and frequent amongst the Inhabitants of *Canaan*; and I therefore perfectly here agree with the Philosopher, that *it was a general received Opinion in Abraham's Time*, especially amongst the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites*, that human Sacrifices might be accepted of the Gods. And I will joyn with him in acknowledging, that as offer'd by them, they were contrary to all the Principles of Nature, Reason and true Religion, and argued the highest Degeneracy and Corruption in Mankind, and the most mistaken Sentiments of the Perfections of God, and the Worship due to him. He acknowledges also that *before Abraham*, * *his Family worshiped by Images*, and that *this Sort of Worship was retained till the Time of Jacob*. But then I do not see how these Things are reconcilable with what he asserts in another Place; † where speaking of Enthusiasm, Superstition, and the most unnatural and incredible Accounts of God, and how it prevailed in *Egypt* before the Days of *Moses*; he says: *But it cannot be supposed, that this great Degeneracy, Corruption, and Inversion of all Nature and Religion hapned so early, as the Days of Abraham*. Why can't it be supposed, when he allows that the two grossest Corrupti-

* Vol. III. p. 105.

† Page 93, 94.

ons of Religion in the whole World, viz. Image Worship and human Sacrifices, were, the first earlier than *Abraham*, and the latter agreeable to the general Opinion of his Times? Human Sacrifices he affirms, are * *contrary to Nature and Reason*, and that to suppose them agreeable to, or consistent with the *Nature and Perfections of God*, destroys and sets aside the whole Law of Nature, and leaves us no prior Principle or Rule of Judgment in Reason, concerning the Will and Law of God. If therefore there is plain Proof, as he himself asserts, † of the common Notion, or general received Opinion of that, *Abraham's Time*, that human Sacrifices might be enjoyn'd and accepted of God, as the most valuable and meritorious Part of Obedience, and that the Blood of Man for the Expiation of Sin and procuring the divine Favour was much more efficacious than the Blood of Beasts: Then it will follow, that this gross Degeneracy, Inversion of Nature, and gross Corruption of Religion, happened as early as the Days of *Abraham*, since no Corruption of Religion can be grosser, than that which is contrary to Nature and Reason, inconsistent with the Nature and Perfections of God, and sets aside the whole Law of Nature. And yet this Moral Philosopher, who tells us, 'twas the common Notion of *Abraham's Time* that such unnatural Sacrifices were the most valuable and meritorious Part of Obedience, hath the Assurance and Front to tell the World, that this

* Vol. III. p. 97, 98.

† Vol. I. p. 133.

great Degeneracy, Corruption, and Inversion of all Nature and Religion, can't be supposed to happen so early as the Days of Abraham. Clearly to make these two Suppositions consistent, will require the whole of this able Philosopher's Invention and Criticism.

But tho' human Sacrifices were agreeable to the general Opinion of the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Canaan*, I do not see how 'twill follow from thence, that these *Hebrews* always looked upon them, from the very Beginning, as the most acceptable Acts of Devotion, when freely offered to the true God; and 'tis what I am very sure he is not able to prove. The Original Country where *Abraham's* Family dwelt was *Chaldæa*, and there are no antient Authorities to prove that this Custom of sacrificing Children had so early as this, or ever obtain'd there. * *Philo* expressly says the contrary, viz. that the Custom of sacrificing Children had not been received or approved in *Babylon*, nor in *Mesopotamia*, nor amongst the *Chaldæans*, tho' he was brought up, and spent the greatest Part of his Time amongst them; and that therefore the Frequency of these Things could not be that which prevailed with him to look on such dreadful Sight with Indifference. The *Hebrews* therefore did not from the Beginning look on

* Εθος μὲν ἐν τοῦ ἐπὶ παιδοκτονία, Βαβυλων καὶ Μεσοποταμία, καὶ τοῦ χαλδαίων ἔθνους οὐ παραδεχέσθαι, ἐν οἷς εἰσαρῆ καὶ ἐβίωσε τον πλείονα χρόνον, ὡς τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν δρωμένων ἀμβλυθεραῖς ταῖς τῶν δεινῶν φαντασίαις κεκρατηθῆναι δοκεῖν. Phil. de Abr. p. 294.

human Sacrifices as the most acceptable Acts of Devotion, since they do appear from the Beginning never to have looked on or used them as any Acts of Devotion at all. If he makes *Abraham* the Original of the *Hebrews*, yet I don't see even then how it will be plain from his Case, that they thought such Sacrifices *freely offered* so very acceptable Acts of Devotion. By *freely*, he means voluntarily, and without Command from God; else his Instance from *Abraham* is nothing to the Purpose, who he says determined to offer *Isaack thro' Conceit*, without any divine Command. But then he knows this will never be allow'd him, because the History contradicts this Conceit of his, and declares that what *Abraham* did, and resolved to do, was by divine Command. Now how it follows, from *Abraham's* Intention to offer his Son *Isaack*, upon Supposition God required it of him, that therefore *Abraham* looked on human Sacrifices, *freely offer'd*, i. e. without God's requiring them of him, as the most acceptable Acts of Devotion, is another Mystery that needs this *great Philosophical Genius* to explain it. The Truth is, that there is no one single Instance, in all the old Testament Writings, of an human Sacrifice offered to the true God freely, or otherwise; and tho' the corrupted and idolatrous *Jews* frequently *made their Children pass thro' the Fire* to the Gods of the Nations around them, yet God expressly forbid all such Offerings to himself as an *Abomination*; and therefore the *Hebrews*

brews could not possibly look on them as *acceptable Acts of Devotion* to him, or as *the most valuable and meritorious Acts of Obedience*; unless the Philosopher thinks they could imagine there was any *peculiar Merit* in those Sacrifices, which they well know to be his *Abhorrence*.

When he adds, that *'twas the general Opinion of the Time when Abraham lived, that the Blood of Man for the Expiation of Sin, and procuring the divine Favour, was much more efficacious than the Blood of Beasts*; this may be true, for any Thing I can prove to the contrary, of the *Egyptians and Canaanites*, and other idolatrous Nations: But how the Conduct of *Abraham* in the Case of *Isaack* can prove this, is past my Comprehension. If *Abraham* had actually offered up his Son, or attempted to offer him up *freely*, or offered him for *the Expiation of Sin*, or as a *more efficacious Sacrifice* to procure the divine Favour than the Sacrifice of a Beast, the Philosopher's Inference would have been more to the Purpose. But he must know that not one of these Circumstances can be proved of *Abraham*, but that he acted upon quite different Views; and that what in him was only a Readiness to comply with a supposed and possible Command of God, without any Regard to the Expiation of Sin, was in them Superstition and Wickedness; because they acted without any Shadow or Pretence of a divine Order, and for such Ends, as no Sacrifices, whether of Men or Beasts, could in themselves possibly

possibly answer ; since no Sacrifices whatsoever could, in the Nature of things, be, *on their own Account*, an Expiation for Sin, as it affected the Conscience, and the Acceptance of Mankind with God in a future State.

Another Inference he draws is, that *the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews supposes that human Sacrifices are agreeable to, and consistent with the Nature and Perfections of God, and may be accordingly commanded, and made a positive Duty by Revelation*, because he supposes that *Abraham's Faith and Resolution upon it were good and meritorious in this Case*. Abraham's Faith, according to the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, was only this ; that *he accounted or believed that God was able to raise his Son from the Dead*, in Case he had actually offered him up, in Obedience to him : A Faith I should think even our Philosopher should not censure as Superstition and Enthusiasm. In Consequence of this Faith he tells us he *did offer him*, i. e. bound him, laid him on the Altar, on the Wood, and shewed himself ready to slay him, if God should finally permit it. But he neither actually offered him, nor intentionally, but upon Supposition of God's actually requiring it. The Author therefore to the *Hebrews* leaves the Fact of the Sacrifice as the History records it, without saying one Word about the Lawfulness of human Sacrifices. The Thing he commends *Abraham* for is simply this ; his ready Compliance with God's Method of trying his Obedience,

Obedience, upon this Principle that God could raise the Dead. He supposes more than Conceit in *Abraham*, * even a divine Order, as the *Hebrew* Historian doth ; and that therefore, as the Philosopher himself allows, the Command was *just and right*, because from God. Upon Supposition therefore of such a Command, the Philosopher himself must commend *Abraham* as much as the Author to the *Hebrews*, because if the Command was from God, 'twas just, and if just, *Abraham* must be obliged to obey it, and his Faith in God, that supported him in this Instance of Obedience, was, to use our Author's Words, *good and meritorious*. But if God did not command him, and if his Faith, that God was able to raise the Dead, was all Conceit and Enthusiasm; the Author to the *Hebrews* doth not commend him, and might therefore have escaped the Philosopher's Censure. It should also be added, that the Author to the *Hebrews* supposes that this Command was only for *Abraham's* Trial: *Abraham*, when he was tried, offered up *Isaack* ; and that therefore *Abraham's* Faith was worthy of Commendation, because it enabled him to endure the Trial, and approve himself faithful to God. Now how doth it appear, that the Author to the *Hebrews* could ever suppose, that Humane Sacrifices, not ordain'd by God by Way of Trial, are agreeable to him, because he supposes, that God tried *Abraham*, by com-

* Vol. I. p. 134.

manding him to offer *Isaack*? Or, that Humane Sacrifices, *actually to be offered up*, may be made a *positive, standing Duty by Revelation*, because God tried *Abraham* by a Command of this Nature, that he *never intended* should be thoroughly executed? If this Author only thought, that God intended nothing more than a Trial of *Abraham's Faith*, he only thought that God had a Right to try him by such a Method; a Right, that doth not in the least infer that he thought there was a farther Right in God actually to command Humane Sacrifices, as Instances of Worship agreeable to his Perfections; the commanding a Thing merely by Way of Trial, being quite different from a Command, intentionally given, for the actually doing the Thing; as different, as a Command that is given for Trial only, and not for Execution, is from another Command, that is given to be finally executed, and not merely for Trial. But

In reality the Philosopher injures the Author to the *Hebrews*, by telling us, that he *supposes Humane Sacrifices to be agreeable to God, and that they may be made a positive Duty by Revelation; because he commends Abraham's Faith*; meaning by *Humane Sacrifices*, Men absolutely put to Death, so as never to recover Life; or offered as Propitiations for Sin. For the Author to the *Hebrews* never supposed, that either of those Circumstances were applicable to the Case of *Abraham*; because he expressly tells us, that
Abraham

Abraham accounted that God was able to raise Isaac from the Dead: And therefore he must necessarily suppose, that *Abraham* never once thought of offering to God an Humane Sacrifice, as that implied the intire Destruction of it; but only of a short, temporary Death, that was to be succeeded by an immediate, or speedy Resurrection, by the Power of God. And therefore the Author to the *Hebrews* only supposes, that God may command a Father to put his Son to Death for a small Period, in order to illustrate his own Power and Faithfulness, by granting an immediate Resurrection to a new and durable Life; and that *Abraham's* Faith and Resolution were therefore good, because as he had received such a Command, he would have executed it, had God insisted on it, thro' an intire Faith in the Divine Power and Fidelity. And who would not act as *Abraham* did, in like Circumstances, and freely offer himself or Son, that had *Abraham's* certain Assurance of the Divine Power to restore him? Every Man that had a becoming Faith in the Almighty Being, and a due Disposition to please, and be rewarded of him.

5. But the grand Question is, * *How such a Revelation could be proved as coming from God? † What Proof could be give, that he had any such Revelation or Command from God? And will any of our present Clergy undertake to prove, that such a Command from God to Abraham can be now cre-*

* Vol. III. p. 98. † Vol. I. p. 133.

dible or probable to us? I think the Credibility of the Thing may be abundantly proved, when it is fairly consider'd what is, and what is not to be proved.

It is not necessary to be proved, that *Abraham* was assured, or that he thought he had a Command from God, to put his Son to Death, so as *intirely to destroy him*, and for ever deprive him of Life ; or that he apprehended any such Thing lawful or fit, because God never intended such a Command, and *Abraham* knew 'twas impossible God should give it, because *Isaack's* Life had been ensured to him by preceeding Promises, and a numerous Posterity by him : No, nor need it be proved, that God gave him any Command to put him *actually to Death* at all, or that *Abraham* fully and certainly understood the Command in such a Light ; because, as the Event shewed, God had no such Intention, nor doth it appear that *Abraham* was ever absolutely persuaded that it was. Much less need it be proved, that *Abraham* thought Humane Sacrifices for Sin were or could be acceptable to God, or that he thought it lawful, and therefore intended to offer *Isaack as an Attonement*, or expiatory Sacrifice ; because of this there is not one single Word in the History.

However, I shall allow the Philosopher, that as *Abraham* could not tell what the Event might be, and whether or no God might not permit him actually to slay his Son, so he was determin'd to put him to Death, if that should at
last

last appear to be the Intention of God ; and that as *Abraham* might apprehend that possibly this might be the Case, so he must think it fit for God to command, and therefore as fit for himself to obey. And let him make the most of this Concession, that he can. I think the Thing reconcileable with all the Principles of Nature and Religion, and with all the Ends of the Divine Providence and Government. If he can prove it otherwise, I shall easily change my Mind upon Conviction. I shall endeavour to illustrate and confirm this Matter, by the following Considerations :

1. Then, I lay it down as a certain Truth, that God is the absolute and *sovereign Disposer of Life and Death*, and that he is under no Obligations to give, either Philosophers or others, an Account of the Reasons of his Conduct, either in giving Life, or taking it away ; and that neither Innocence, nor Age, is, in the common Course of Providence, any Security of Life, or Exemption from Death ; because Persons of all Ages and Characters may, and do die, in the Course of Providence, either by the fixed Constitution and necessary Operation of natural Laws, or by Virtue of some peculiar Interposition and Disposal, *i. e.* in either Case by Virtue of the Will and Pleasure of God. And I therefore presume, that *Isaac* himself had originally and naturally no more Security of Life, than any other Child or Person whatsoever ; and that it would have been no more cruel in God to have

put him to Death, either in an ordinary or extraordinary Way, than it would to have put any other Person to Death exactly by the same Methods. If *Isaack's* Life had been taken from him, either by a lingering Fever, or by the excruciating Torments of the Stone or Cholick, or by a gradual, long protracted *Phthisis*, would it have been demanded, how this could have been consistent with the Nature and Perfections of God? Or had God told *Abraham*, that he would have caused his *Isuack*, his beloved Son, to die, by one of these Disorders, or a Complication of them, must we have concluded, that *Abraham* was under a Delusion, and had wrought himself into a wrong Persuasion, or mistook the Voice and Will of God to him? Will this Philosopher dispute the Will of God in this respect, or take on him to censure the Divine Conduct?

Or, supposing that God had ordered *Isaack* to go amongst the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, to oppose the Idolatries and Impieties of those Nations, or commanded *Abraham* to send him on this Errand, and assur'd both Father and Son, that in this Service the *Canaanites* should put *Isaack* to an ignominious and painful Death. Could either of them have rightly refused Obedience to this Command, *Abraham* to send, or *Isaack* to go? Ought they to have pleaded Nature, and the Passions and Principles of the Humane Constitution, the one against sending him, the other against going to such a certain Destruction? Will our Philosopher dare to censure
such

such a Command as a *Dissolution of the whole Law of Nature, and an unbinging the whole Frame of Nature, and leaving no human Creature any Rule of Action at all?* And yet there are no Principles of Nature more strong, nor to which all the Passions of the Humane Constitution more powerfully lead, than that of Self-preservation in every one, and a Father's preserving the Life of a beloved Son. But it was a much less Thing than this that God required of *Abraham*, even if the Command had been really to offer him : A Command indeed really to put his Son to Death, but not to a shameful or exceeding painful one, but as an Offering to God, and that by a single Stroke, that must immediately have deprived him of all possible Sensation ; not to a lasting and perpetual Death, but a Death that was to be immediately abolished, and succeeded by a Resurrection to a long and prosperous Life : A Resurrection that would have given the Father a Pleasure equal to the Pain of having deprived his Son of Life, hightned the Dignity of his own Character, and greatly encreased the Moment of his Piety and Virtue : A Resurrection that must have filled the Breast of his Son with a *Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*, and rendred his Name amongst all Generations truly venerable and sacred. *Abraham* therefore, supposing he understood the Command of putting his Son to Death, must have acted upon these Principles, of God's absolute Property in his Son's Life, and his immutable and indisputable Right to take
away

away Life, either for a longer or a shorter Season, and by whatsoever Means his own Wisdom should prescribe ; and the Reasonableness of Obedience to him, even in Circumstances where the Passions of Human Nature may in some Respects reluctate to the Command : Principles of Conduct immutably reasonable and fit in themselves, and which I challenge this Philosopher to prove irrational and absurd. *Abraham* therefore could be under no Difficulty to know whether this was a Command from God, from the Nature of it, because not in the least inconsistent with the Reason of Things, nor subversive of any real and immutable Law of Nature. But farther,

2. I can see no Absurdity in the Supposition, that God may order a Father to put his Son absolutely to Death, if there be any certain wise and valuable Reasons to be answered by it, nor any bad Consequences that can follow from it. I here utterly exclude the Consideration of being put to Death as *a propitiatory Sacrifice*. For I will allow this Author, as strongly as he pleases, that no Sacrifices of Beasts or Men, can in the Nature of Things, be *in themselves*, and abstracted from other Considerations, any Kind of Attonement whatsoever for *the moral Guilt* of Sin, or be in the least available with God for this Purpose. But yet there may be Reasons that may justify Parents putting their Children to Death, so that the Thing is not strictly, and absolutely, and in itself, and always unlawful.

Eli

Eli was High Priest and Governour of the *Jews*, but his Sons were *Sons of Belial*, *who knew not the Lord*. Their Crimes were such as deserved Death, and the Father, in spite of all the Pleadings of natural Affection, ought to have punished them with Death, and was extreemly criminal in not doing it. *Brutus*, amongst the *Romans*, stands as a noble Instance of a Father's punishing his Children with Death ; * and other Instances are mention'd by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. But how are such Instances as these vindicable upon the Principles of natural Reason and Affection ? What can justify such a severe Procedure in a Father ? The Publick Good, † and

Ut arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset,

That they might stand as *an eminent Example* by their Punishment, for the Discouragement of such Crimes as they had been guilty of. And if this be agreeable to the Principles of Reason, it will follow ; that the Command to a Father to put his Son to Death, is not a Command to do a Thing essentially and immutably unnatural, and which may be known by the very Nature of the Command to be always absolutely unfit ; but that 'tis a Command to do a Thing, that may, and ought to be done, when Considerations of the Publick Welfare, the Discouragement of Vice, and the promoting of Virtue,

* Rom. Ant. p. 524.

† Liv. l. 2. c. 5.

do really require such an extraordinary Conduct of a Father towards his Son.

But the Sons of *Eli*, and of *Brutus*, were *Criminals*, and so don't at all answer to the Case of *Isaack*. True, not intirely. But if *Eli's* Sons deserved to die, and *Brutus's* Sons were justly punished with Death, for the Publick Good, *i. e.* if the Publick Good, the Encouragement of Virtue, and the putting a Stop to Vice, were the Reasons why such a Sacrifice was necessary, and *the only Reasons* that could justify such a Proceedure, and Reasons that *do fully justify* it ; then, I say, that the Publick Good, in these Respects, is to be * preferred to the Life of any single Person ; and that therefore God may, consistent with every real Law of Nature, call out any particular Persons, and oblige them to yield themselves to Death, when he knows 'tis necessary to answer this, or the like valuable End. And, if they were perfectly innocent, the same Reason ought to engage them voluntarily to sacrifice themselves, and chearfully to yield up Life, when the Providence of God thus calls them to it ; and especially, if there be a real Command of God, exprefs and positive, obliging them thus to give themselves up to Death. With Precepts of this Nature, I

* Sed cum omnia ratione animoque iustraris, omnium Societatum nulla est gravius, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum Republica est unicuique nostrum. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares : Sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est : pro qua, quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus ? Cicer. de Offic. l. 1. c. 17.

acknowledge,

acknowledge, Christianity every where abounds, and absolutely obliges all its Professors to die, *voluntarily to die*, and chearfully to *sacrifice* themselves, whenever it becomes necessary for the Publick Good, *i. e.* for the sake of Religion and Virtue, as a Testimony to the Truth of it, to promote the Practice of it, and thereby discourage all private and publick Vice and Wickedness. And these Sacrifices, these *Humane Sacrifices*, these *voluntary Humane Sacrifices*, which the Persons, who thus offer themselves, may easily avoid the making of, are *highly pleasing* and acceptable to God ; acceptable upon Account of their very Innocence, Purity and Integrity ; however execrable the Wickedness of those may be, who put them under the Necessity of thus willingly yielding and sacrificing themselves to God. Let the Philosopher make the best of these Concessions ; I'll stand to all the Inferences he can draw from them, let them appear as formidable as they will.

Thus much farther therefore are we proceeded, *viz.* to acknowledge that Men may be obliged to sacrifice themselves for the Publick Good, without any direct Forfeiture they have made of Life to the Laws of God or Man ; yea, upon Supposition of the most perfect Innocence and Virtue ; so that Innocence and Virtue are not to be opposed to the Will of Providence, and the Command of God, nor to be pleaded as Reasons for not submitting to Death with the utmost Chearfulness, when God, for
these

these Reasons, requires it. Had *Isaack* therefore lived in Times when such a Sacrifice had been demanded of him, and when the before-mention'd Ends could probably have been answer'd by his chearfully submitting to it, would not such a Submission been his Duty, whatever might have been the Manner in which that Sacrifice might have been order'd to have been made?

Should the Good of Society, the Ends of Religion, the promoting Virtue, and the consequent Discouragement of Vice, depend on a Father's employing his only Son in such an Action, as the Father knew would certainly in the Event prove the Loss of his Son's Life; would not the Father, by sending his Son on such an Action, as properly sacrifice his Son, as if he actually put him to Death with his own Hands; especially if he could have prevented his going on the fatal Errand? And would the Father's Consent, or Order, for his going be criminal or unnatural? Or, should God, by express and immediate Revelation, appoint the Father to send his Son on such a Design, and expressly tell him the Consequence should be the Death of his Son, would our Philosopher, in *moving and pathetick Terms*, cry out: * *That God, in this, or any other Case, should dissolve the Law of Nature, and make it a Man's Duty, as a Thing morally reasonable and fit, to act contrary to all the natural Principles and Passions of the*

* Vol. I. p. 133, 134.

Humane Constitution, is absolutely incredible, and cannot possibly be denied. And upon such a Supposition I defy all the Clergy in England to prove, that any Thing can be just or unjust, morally fit or unfit, antecedent to a positive Will? Would not all the Clergy in England laugh at his Defiance, and tell him, that he knew nothing of the Law of Nature, the Sense of Nations, nor the Foundations of Morality; and that he talked neither becoming a Philosopher, nor a Man of Honour, to set up any Principles or Passions of Humane Nature against the Publick Good, and in Opposition to the Interest of Religion and Virtue? Such a Conduct as this of a Father towards his Son, and his thus sending him to certain Death,
 * would be no Dissolution of the Law of Nature, but acting according to it in the noblest Manner; and therefore such a Command for a Father to sacrifice his Son, may be given by God, and certainly known to proceed from him, and carry in it a certain Obligation to Obedience.

'Tis not an Instance altogether unlike this, which *Cicero* celebrates as an Act of heroick Virtue. When *Mark Anthony* was in Arms against the *Roman Republick*, the Senate or-

* Est autem jus naturale adeo immutabile, ut ne a Deo quidem mutari queat. Fit tamen interdum ut in his actibus, de quibus jus naturæ aliquid constituit, imago quædam mutationis fallat incautos, cum revera non jus naturæ mutetur, quod immutabile est, sed res, de qua jus naturæ constituit, quæque mutationem recipit. Groi. de Jur. Bel. l. 1. c. 1. § 5, 6.

der'd *Ser. Sulpicius* upon an Embassy to him. * *Sulpicius* would have excused himself, by a dangerous Distemper he then laboured under, which had emaciated him, and which † he knew would prove his Death, if he undertook that Embassy. The Senate, knowing his Wisdom and Integrity, and that no Person was so fit to be employ'd in the Affair, insisted on their Choice, and the Consul *Pansa* urging it upon him, he complied ; declaring, ‡ that he preferred the Authority of the Senate, and the Good of the Republick, to his own Life. *Sulpicius's* § Son did not oppose the Senate's Request, and his Father's Purpose. He accordingly went, without any Hope of ever returning, but with *a certain Prospect of Death*, which he might have ¶ avoided by remaining at home. And ac-

* Quem cum videretis re magis morbum, quam oratione excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis, quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit : Sed cum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis. Philip. 9. c. 4. Edit. Græv.

† *Ser. Sulpicius* cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. Ibid. c. 1. Quis dubitat quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio ? Secum enim ille mortem extulit. Ibid. c. 3.

‡ Difficillimo reipublicæ tempore gravi periculosoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem senatus, salutemque reipublicæ vitæ suæ preposuerit. Ibid. c. 7.

§ Tum vero denique filium, meque seduxit—cujus nos virtutem admirati, non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius : Non multum ejus perturbationi meus dolor concedebat. Sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati. Ibid. c. 4.

¶ Secum enim ille mortem extulit, quam si nobiscum remansisset, sua cura, optimi filii, fidelissimæque conjugis diligentia vitare potuisset. Ibid. c. 3.

cordingly

cordingly he died in his Embassy. And therefore * *Cicero* gently reproaches the Senate with their having destroy'd this excellent Man. Now must we say, that the Senate, and *Sulpicius* his Son, and Friends, who perswaded him to undertake, or acquiesced in his undertaking this Embassy for the Publick Good, in such Circumstances as 'twas well known must prove his Death, acted an unnatural Part, in thus sacrificing a Senator, a Father, and a Friend; and that *Sulpicius* was obliged, by the Principles and Passions of the Humane Constitution, never to have consented, and his Son obliged, by the same Principles and Passions, to have done all he could to have prevented it? The *Romans* thought him obliged thus to expose himself to Death for the Common Welfare, and † rewarded his heroick Virtue with a publick Monument, and with a brazen Statue, to perpetuate his exemplary Merit.

Once more; should there be any valuable Ends of Religion and Virtue, of publick Welfare, and the Happiness of Mankind to be answer'd, by a Father's putting his Son to Death, not by the Hands of other Persons, but by his

* Vos enim, P. C. grave dictu est, sed dicendum tamen, vos inquam Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis. Ibid. c. 4.

† Cum talis vir, ob rempublicam in legatione mortem obierit: Senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem æneam in Rostris, ex hujus ordinis sententia, statui—et cum ita de republica meritis sit, senatum censere; atque e republica existimare, ædiles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere. Id. Ibid. c. 7.

own ; would he have hereby an Opportunity of displaying, in a very surprising Manner, the Power of the true God, in Opposition to false ones ; the Mercy and Compassion of this God, in Opposition to the Cruelty and Barbarity allowed and sanctified by pretended Deities ; and the Veracity and Faithfulness of the true God, by the Performance of his Promises, even when, in a natural Way, that Performance became impossible : Should he hereby be called to give an exemplary Proof of his own Obedience to God, and of his Trust and Faith in his Power and Goodness, in order to fit him for as exemplary a Reward, and to make him a Pattern of Religion and Virtue to all succeeding Generations ; and could this Sacrifice of a Son by a Father be made, without any real or considerable Injury done to the Son, yea, so as to secure him an everlasting Honour, and the most signal Blessing and Reward from God : Would the Command of God, *thus circumstanced*, to put a Son to Death, be *morally unreasonable* and unfit, absolutely incredible, and impossible to be proved ? Is here not every kind of moral Fitness to render the Command worthy of God, every Circumstance to engage the Father to a Compliance with it ? And every one of these Circumstances concurred in the Case of *Abraham*.

Had he actually put his Son to Death on the Altar, he absolutely knew that God must raise him from the Dead, to accomplish the Promises relating to him, and that God *was able*

to raise him, because * *εν παραβολη αυτον εκομισατο εν νεκρων*, he had in like Manner, or comparatively, received him from the Dead; received him as a Reward, viz. of his Faith, as the Word *κομιζειν* frequently signifies; his own Body, and that of his Wife, being naturally so far dead, as to be incapable of having a Son; and that this Resurrection of his Son would have been a glorious Instance of the superiour Power of the true God, over all the Idols of the Nations around him. Nor would the Mercy of God appeared less illustrious, in thus rewarding *Isaack* with a Resurrection to Life, whereby the Cruelty of the Heathen Gods must have been set in the strongest View, who permitted Humane Sacrifices to be offered to them, without any possible Hope of their Redemption from Death. How strong a Confirmation would it also have been of the Divine Faithfulness, in thus miraculously raising up a dead Person, that none of the Promises of God might fail concerning him. *Abraham's* Piety to the true God would hereby have been greatly recommended, in thus parting with so valuable a Life, at the Order of God; nor would *Isaack* himself have received any real Injury from his Father; the putting him to a Moment's Pain being nothing in Comparison of the Blessings ensured him by the renewed Promises to his Father, and of the Honour he would have

* *Παράβολη. Πραγματων ομοιωσις. Hefych. εν παραβολη, similiter ac, non secus ac. Sic εν αφορσυνη. Stulte. εν σοφια. Sapienter. εν ταχει. Celeriter, &c.*

received by so miraculous a Resurrection: And had he ever retain'd the Marks of the Wound that took from him his Life, they would have been unspeakably more glorious, than the Scars of Conquerors, returning triumphantly from the Dangers of Battle.

These or the like must have been the Reasonings of *Abraham*, that confirmed his Resolution to proceed in this Affair, as far as the Order of God should lead him; even to the actual sacrificing of his Son, if that should appear at last to be the Will of God; and his Procedure in it is justified by all the real Principles of Religion, Magnanimity, Courage, Regard to himself and Son and the Publick Good. And if he was sure, that the same Being who promised and gave him his Son, did command the Sacrifice of him, there was nothing in the Nature of the Command, to one in *Abraham's* Circumstances, that could give him any reasonable Suspicion that it was not the Command of the true God, or that it was unfit or unnatural for him to execute.

What therefore should hinder any of *our present Clergy* from undertaking to prove, that such a Command from God to *Abraham* can be *now credible or probable to us*, provided any of us were in exactly like Circumstances with him? If the Circumstances be different, *essentially different*, the present Clergy are not so weak, as to talk or think any Thing about such a Command, or the Probability of it; because they
know

know the Credibility of it depends on the peculiar Circumstances attending it. Suppose, any Person, living in like Times as *Abraham* did, as independent on all Society and civil Government as *Abraham* was, that received the same and as frequent Appearances of God, and that had a Son born to him by the same Kind of miraculous Resurrection, as *Abraham* had; a Son Heir to like Promises, and who in Virtue of such Promises must, if offered, have been raised from the Dead; and such a Command will be as credible now as it was then. But if these or any of the principle Circumstances, attending *Abraham's* Case, be now wanting, then such a Command to any Person now living will not, cannot be equally credible and probable. And therefore if he means by his Question: *Will any of our present Clergy undertake to prove, that such a Command from God to Abraham can be now credible or probable to us?* Whether any Man now living amongst us, can make it probable to us, that he hath, like *Abraham*, a Command to sacrifice his Son; I very freely answer him, No: Because he is not the Head of an independent Clan or Tribe, as the Patriarch was; but is a Member of a Society, and under the Restraint of civil Laws, and is therefore responsible to Government and Society for his Conduct, and therefore hath no private independent Property in the Life of his Children, which are as truly the Children of Society as his own, and whose Lives therefore

P cannot

cannot be taken from them without or contrary to the Leave of Society. And therefore no Member of Society can make it now probable or credible that he hath a private Command from God to sacrifice his Child, unless he can satisfy the Society he belongs to that he hath received such a Command; because that is supposing he hath a Right to do a Thing, which Society hath a Right to hinder him from doing, and for which they may punish him with death, if he actually doth it. And therefore as God cannot be the Author of contradictory Commands, so I believe he will not give any Man a Right to do an Action, which he hath obliged Society, as such, by all Means to prevent. If God should give any particular Member of Society a Command to sacrifice his Son, God will unquestionably take care to satisfy Society in this Respect; and unless they have full Satisfaction herein, they have a Right, as the Guardians of Life and Property, to hinder such an intended Action if they can, or if they can't, to punish the Actor as a Criminal with Death. And therefore no such private Command can be now credible, because nothing is more incredible than that God should give a private Man a Right to take away that Life, which he hath given Society a Right to preserve; or make that a Man's Duty to himself which he obliges Society, as such, to punish as one of the greatest Crimes against them.

But

But the Case of *Abraham* was quite different, who was under no Obligation to the Laws of any particular civil Society, to which he was responsible for the Life of *Isaack*, but was Lord and Governour of his own Family, and as such invested with † supream Power over them: Or was as the *Hittites* * stiled him *נשיא אלהים* a *Prince of God*, a mighty excellent Prince, as appeared from his numerous Train of Servants, great Riches and exemplary Piety. 'Twas therefore a Matter wholly to be transacted between Father and Son, which the Father had a Right to do when commanded, and which no particular Nation or Society or Government had a Right to prevent or punish; and for the doing of which therefore a private *personal Command* was sufficient; as sufficient as a Command from God to Society, to permit such an Action in any Father, would be a sufficient Justification and Warrant to them for such Permission. And therefore take this Part of History, as it lies in the Book of *Moses*, and

† Regiminis Patriarchalis seu Regii, ejusque præfecturarum substitutarum actus in imperando, coercendo, in jus vocando, sententiam ferendo, executioni mandando, reliquisque imperii ac jurisdictionis Appendicibus habebantur. Selden. de Syned. p. 1146. *And agin.* Haud credibile videtur eos non tam sacras quam profanas causas, easque omnimodas, pariter & ere nata tractasse ac definivisse. Atque æquum sane est ut de Patriarchis etiam anterioribus, Ada, Setno, Noacho, Melchizedeko, Abraka, aliis, hujus intervalli principibus summis, eorum quæ fuere præfecturis minoribus tantundem admittamus. Id. Ibid. p. 1141. Edit. Londin.

* Gen. xxiii. 6.

strip it of all *Philosophical Conceits*, Dreams, Disguises, and Misrepresentations, and the Command will appear as credible or probable, as any other recorded in his Writings; and to carry in it no Contradiction to any Rights or Claims of Society, any more than it doth to any genuine Principles of Reason and Nature.

6. When the Philosopher calls this command * *a dissolving the Law of Nature*, 'tis absurd and impertinent; unless he can prove, that a Father's putting a Son to death is *simply*, in itself, *at all Times*, and invariably unnatural; or that God hath not the absolute Disposal of human Life; or that 'tis absolutely impossible that God can ever have, in any single Instance, any Ends of Wisdom and Goodness to answer by such an Order, or that there were no such Ends to be answer'd in this; or that God cannot raise the Dead, or that *Abraham* knew he neither would nor could restore *Isaack*. The Law of Nature in this Case is this, and precisely this: That no Father put his Son to Death, so as absolutely to deprive him of Life, without just Reason; a Law of Nature that extends to all Mankind without Exception. But when there are Reasons, just and sufficient Reasons, for the resigning and taking away Life, the Law of Nature and Reason then requires a quite different Conduct; and I am not afraid to affirm, that as *Abraham* had the positive Command of that Being to sacrifice his

Son, who gave him to him originally, as *Isack's* Death must have been but for a little Season, had he been actually sacrificed, so these Circumstances make it infinitely different from all other Instances of humane Sacrifices, makes the Command appear reasonable in itself, justifies *Abraham's* Conduct, and renders it worthy the Imitation of all good Men, when they can be sure they are in like Circumstances with him.

Even this Author himself says: *'Tis very plain that Abraham, * however he came by it, had a strong indubitable Persuasion, that if he shou'd sacrifice his Son, as God was able, so he would certainly raise him again from the Dead, and make good his Promise in him, after he had been burnt to Ashes.* Methinks he need not have been at a Loss how *Abraham* came by this Persuasion, when he himself hath intimated the very Reason, viz. that this was necessary to make good the Promises God hath made concerning him. But then this very Concession destroys one of the principle Objections against the Conduct of *Abraham*, viz. that in *Abraham's* Case, and theirs who offered humane Sacrifices after him, † *the Nature and Reason of the Thing itself is the same.* How is the ‡ Na-

P 3

ture

* Vol. III. p. 271.

† Ibid. p. 270.

‡ Των καλαθυοντων παιδας, οι διαβυλητες η μεγαλας υπο-
 θεσεις πολεων τε χωρων, ελεως κατορθωσθαι μη δυναμενων.
 Ων οι μεν αναγκη τις αυτων επιδιδοασιν. υπο δυνατοις των
 βιαθεντες· οι δε φοβω τω απ'ανθρωπων· οι δε δοξης η ευφημιας
 ετιςμενοι

ture of the Thing itself the same, when the Nations who offered humane Sacrifices put them absolutely to Death, without any divine Order or the least Imagination of an immediate Resurrection, or good and justifiable Reason whatsoever; and when *Abraham* had an absolute Order for doing it, and a full Certainty, that if he had sacrificed his Son, he must have been immediately or soon restored to Life, in order to the Accomplishment of God's Promises? How is the Reason of the Thing the same, when the Cases themselves thus widely differ, and when the Illustration of the divine Power, in the Resurrection of a dead Person, may be a sufficient Reason for depriving him of Life for a small Season, when the absolute Destruction of Persons by offering them in Sacrifice intirely excludes the very Possibility of that Reason's taking Place?

7. The same Consideration takes off the Force of every other Objection alledged by the Philosopher against the Probability of this being commanded by God; such as, that 'twas
** a Thing not fit to be done, and contrary to*

επιεικεῖς καὶ ευκλείας μὲν τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ευτημίας δὲ τῆς
 ὑστερον—Τῶν δ' ἕνεκα δεῦς ἐπιδιδόντων ἐπαινος ἔδει—Εἰ δὲ τις
 δοῆς ὀρεγόμενος υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα προσέξαι, φέροιτ' ἂν ἐνδικῶς
 μάλλον ἢ ἐπαινοῖο, θανάτῳ τῶν φιλητῶν οὐκ ἔμενος τιμῇ—Το
 πειθεσθαι θεῷ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐφρονέσι σεμνὸν καὶ περιμαχίην
 εἶναι νομίζομεν. οὐ τοῖς μέγιστα ἐπὶ ἡδυνεῖν, ὡς μηδένος τῶν
 πώποτε προσελαγμένων ἀμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ δύσκειας,
 καὶ πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγυδόνων μέσον εἶναι. Phil. de Abr. p. 294.
 Τι δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ἑτέρους κοινόν; Id. p. 295.

* Ver. III. 97, 269.

Nature

Nature and Reason. What was a Thing not fit to be done? What, the absolute Destruction of *Abraham's* Son? This is no new Discovery. *Abraham* knew this some thousand Years before the Philosopher was born, and that God never commanded it. But is it a Thing unfit in its Nature, that God should take away a Child's Life by his Father's Hands, for a small Season, in order to raise him again, to be a Testimony of his own superiour Power, in the midst of prevailing Superstition and Idolatry? *Abraham* might judge the former to be contrary to Nature and Reason, and that God would not command it; but might easily see the Reasonableness of his enjoining the latter, and reconcile it to all the Principles and Passions of Nature; because the great Objection of Nature was absolutely removed by the Certainty he had of his Son's Resurrection.

8. Again, he says God could not command it, * *as being contrary to his own Perfections.* Command what? The absolute Destruction of *Isaack* by his Father, where there were no valuable Reasons to require it? Who says he did? Who justifies such a Command? The Command at most, as *Abraham* understood it, was only to take away his Son's Life for a Season, in order to his receiving him again by a miraculous Resurrection. But what Perfection of God doth this contradict? Goodness? No. The Resurrection of *Isaack* would have

been a sufficient Vindication of this, and have impressed such a lasting Honour on him, and might have been productive of such valuable Effects, as to have taken away all Suspicion of Severity and Cruelty in God; even as the future Resurrection of the ancient Martyrs for the Cause of God will abundantly free his Providence from the like Suspicions and Charges; their being no Cruelty in God's ordering or permitting temporary Evils, in order to bring out of them more substantial and abundant Good. Nor could *Abraham* think such a Command contrary to Wisdom or Equity, because he knew the Resurrection of his Son would be a glorious Demonstration of the divine Power and Faithfulness, and a standing Evidence of his being superiour in all Perfection to the idol Gods of the Nations around him, and might therefore be a Means to preserve his own Posterity from ever falling into the Worship of those Idols: Ends which this venerable Patriarch knew worthy the Wisdom and Equity of the divine Providence to promote, even by the temporary Sufferings of his own Son, if God should think proper to appoint them for these Reasons.

9. He urges farther the Supposition that God commanded this as a positive Duty, * *destroys and sets aside the whole Law of Nature, and leaves us no prior Principle or Rule of Judgment in Reason*, † *concerning the Will and Law of God*

* Vol. III. p. 98.

† Vol. I. p. 134.

to us; and upon this Principle it is evident, that nothing can be right or wrong, fit or unfit, in the Nature and Reason of Things; but that God may command the most unfit or unrighteous Things in the World by mere arbitrary Will and Pleasure. A Supposition that must unbinge the whole Frame of Nature, and leave no human Creature any Rule of Action at all. The Question still returns, what Supposition and Principle he means? The appointing *Abraham* intirely to deprive his Son of Life, by mere arbitrary Will and Pleasure, without any wise and good Reasons for such an Appointment? The Philosopher knows *Abraham* never acted upon such a Supposition and Principle, and he hath himself fully acquitted him from it, by allowing that *he was indubitably persuaded* that God both could and would raise him from the Dead. How then could *Abraham* ever imagine, that God's commanding him to put his Son to Death, that God might illustrate his Power by raising him immediately or soon from the Dead, and in order to bring about some wise Ends of his Providence, was setting aside the Law of Nature, which only commands us never wholly to destroy Life without or contrary to Reason? And principally for this Reason, because when we destroy it, we can never possibly restore it?

Was it as truly in the Power of Man to raise at his Pleasure from the Dead, as it is to put a Person to death, would not even the Law of Nature, with Respect to the Preservation of Life,

Life, be greatly different from what it is now? Will this Author or any reasonable Man, upon this Supposition, say that the taking away of Life would, in all Instances, be the most unrighteous and unfit Thing in the World? True it is, this Power of raising the Dead is not in Man, and therefore it becomes a most unrighteous and unfit Thing in any one to take away the Life of another without just Reason; because 'tis a most unrighteous and unfit Thing in any one to deprive another of his Life, which is the most valuable Gift of God to him, because he knows he can never restore it to him, nor compensate that Loss with an equally valuable, or more excellent Gift. But surely the Restoration of Life is as much in the Power of God as the Gift of it; and when *Abraham* received the Command to offer up his Son, 'tis agreed that he knew God would and could raise him immediately or soon. And therefore tho' *Abraham* knew that the Law of Nature, that he should not absolutely and without Reason take away Life, because he could not restore it, was fixed and inviolable, and never to be transgressed by him; yet he as well knew, that the Command to offer his Son, supposing it to have been to put him to Death, was not a Command to set aside this eternal Law of Nature, that no Man shall absolutely destroy the Life of another without Reason, because he cannot restore it; but a Command of a quite different Nature, which the Law of Reason and Na-
ture

ture doth not forbid, *viz.* to be the immediate Instrument of God in taking away Life for a short Season, which he knew the same God could and would immediately restore him.

So that the Law of Nature stands immovable and unalterable upon its own eternal Foundation of Truth and Reason, and the Command to *Abraham* was no Command to dissolve and set it aside, or to confound the Fitness and Unfitness of Things, Just and Unjust, Right or Wrong, as our Philosopher supposes and confidently asserts; since I may with the utmost Ease discern a Fitness, Reason and Justice in a Command to take away Life for a small Period, where I have an absolute Certainty of its Restoration, and yet not discern any Fitness or Justice in a Command absolutely to destroy it, when I know there is no Possibility of recovering it.

I am certain by my own Reason, even antecedent to Revelation, and positive Injunction from God, that Right or Wrong, Just or Unjust, are in their own Natures, essentially, and irreconcilably different; and as certain that a Being of infinite Perfection can never command me to do an Action that is thus essentially and immutably wrong, unjust, and absolutely and in all Respects and at all Times unfit to be done. And from hence I may with absolute Certainty conclude, that God never will command human Sacrifices as standing Instances of Worship, or the absolute or intire Destruction of human

human Life ; because this seems to be inconsistent with all the Dictates of my Reason, and Nature, and not reconcilable with the acknowledged Perfections of God, and the Ends of his Moral Government, which is the Preservation and Happiness, and not the Misery and Destruction of Life. But I cannot from hence conclude with any Reason, that God may not have wise Ends to answer, by commanding me to take away Life for a short Season ; because this is not in the least inconsistent with the Preservation and Happiness of Life ; and therefore not at all inconsistent with the Ends of God's Moral Government : Nor is it destructive of any or all the Dictates of Reason and Nature ; because such a temporary Deprivation of Life may greatly tend to the Honour of God, and the Advancement of true Religion and Virtue, which true Reason obliges me to promote ; and to the singular Honour and Advantage of the Person who suffers this temporary Loss, against which uncorrupted Nature will never be reluctant.

10. And therefore the Philosopher's Question, which he says our *Divines* never car'd to meddle with, and which he pertly tells them * is the only Thing they ought to speak to, if they would say any Thing to the Purpose, viz. How God should command any such Thing, or what Proof could be given of it, if he did ; i. e. how God should command any Thing that appeared

* Vol. I. p. 134, 135.

unreasonable and unfit to our weak, imperfect, and limited Understanding? I say the Answer to this Question is plain and easy, and *precisely* this: That 'tis *an impertinent Question*, and nothing to the present Argument, or Purpose. For 'tis supposing, what will never be allow'd him, that this Command itself was unreasonable and unfit in its Nature. I do not know of any Persons, who imagin that God may command them to do an Action, that is really and *strictly unrighteous* and *immutably unfit*; or such a one as *appears immutably unfit* to them whilst it appears so, let their Understanding be ever so weak or imperfect. But then, I presume, the very Command of God will in many Cases be warrant enough for our Conduct, even in Actions that would imply a real Immorality and Unfitness, without such Warrant or equally good Reason; and that without *unbinging the whole Frame of Nature*, and making Things absolutely and eternally and at all Times and Circumstances unfit and unrighteous, righteous and fit; because God hath an eternal and immutable Right to do, and order to be done, what no one else can do, or command to be done.

The Disposal of Life and Property is so in the Hands and Power of God, as it is not in the Power of any other Being whatsoever, and there may be Reasons which will abundantly justify the Equity and Goodness of God, in appointing the one to be taken away, and the
other

other to be transferred, neither of which Men can be justified in doing, without such a divine Command; and if I receive such a Command from God, and especially if at the same Time I can collect, the probable Reasons of such a divine Command, I have the highest Reason to act in Obedience to it; unless any one will affirm, that God hath a Right, which 'tis unfit for him to exercise, or that 'tis unfit in Men to act in such Cases upon a divine Authority and Order. If the Thing commanded me to do, be only what I know God may certainly do himself, when ever he pleases, without any Injury to any: Yea if it be what God frequently, constantly doth, in the Course of his Providence; I have then the utmost Certainty, that 'tis not morally and immutably unfit for him to command it to be done; and therefore not morally unfit for me to do in Obedience to his Command; because in acting by Virtue of such a Command I am only the Instrument of God in accomplishing his Will, and subserving the Purposes of his Providence. And therefore I know 'tis possible, in the Nature of the Thing, that I may receive such a Command from God, and therefore can never collect, from the Nature of the Command, 'tis impossible that God should give it.

I know indeed that *Murder* and *Theft* can never be commanded by God, because these Words imply immoral and criminal Actions. But then if God takes away Life, and transfers
Pro-

Property, who hath an absolute and uncontrollable Dominion over both, I presume the Philosopher will not accuse him as guilty of Murther and Theft: And I should also imagine, that if I take away Life, or another Man's Property by Virtue of God's Order; or in other Words, if God doth the one or the other by my Hands, he will not call God unjust merely for using me as an Instrument in those Instances, nor charge me with the Guilt of either of these Crimes, for submitting to be an Instrument in his Hands. * Nor should he I think cry out here that God *unbings the whole Frame of Nature, and leaves no human Creature any Rule of Action at all.* This dreadful *Pannick* is altogether needless. Because the Frame of Nature will quietly turn upon the same Hinges it did before, and the Rule of Action be the same as it ever was; because the Command is not to murther or to steal, and therefore not to subvert the Law of Nature, nor to make Injustice Justice, or Wrong Right, by arbitrary Will and Pleasure; but precisely this, to do, what God hath an unalienable Right to do without being guilty of Murther or Theft, and to do

* Fit tamen interdum in his actibus, de quibus jus Naturæ aliquid constituit, imago quædam mutationis fallat incautos, cum revera non jus naturæ mutetur, quod immutabile est, sed res, de qua jus naturæ constituit, quæque mutationem recipit. Si quem Deus occidi præcipiat, si res alicujus auferri, non licitum fiet homicidium, aut furtum, quæ voces vitium involvunt; sed non erit homicidium aut furtum, quod vitæ & rerum, supremo domino auctore fit. Grotius de Bel. l. 1. §. 10.

by

by such Ways and Instruments, as he best knows will most effectually subserve the Ends of doing it, without any Necessity of becoming accountable to this Moral Philosopher.

If therefore it be possible for God to reveal his Will in any Respect to Mankind, so as to render them absolutely certain that he hath revealed it, it is as possible for God to convey such a Command to any Person, with as full a Certainty that he hath commanded it, as any other Command whatsoever; especially to a Person in the Circumstances in which the sacred History represents *Abraham* to have been; because the Thing commanded, was not one of those Things which are essentially and immutably unfit by the Law of Nature; but which in certain Circumstances may be done, and therefore commanded to be done, without any Infringement of, or Contradiction to the eternal and immutable Law of Nature.

II. What the Philosopher says, that this Command * *was contrary to all the natural Principles and Passions of the human Constitution*, is not I apprehend *very philosophically* urged. 'Twould have been I confess a stronger Objection, had *Abraham* been commanded absolutely to have taken away his Son's Life, so as for ever to have deprived him of it. Nature and Passion must have reluctated, and I think never have submitted to it, unless *Abraham's* Circumstances and his Sons had been extream-

* Vol. I. p. 133.

ly different from what they appear to have been. But the Reasons of this natural Reluctance of the Passions in a great Measure ceased, in the Case of *Abraham*, because he knew that if his Son was to be deprived of Life, it was to be but for a short Season, and that even that temporary Deprivation would redound to his unspeakable Honour and Advantage. But, are the Passions and Principles of the humane Constitution to be the proper Rules and Motives of Mens Conduct? Will not this in many Instances subvert the Law of Nature, and put Men upon doing the most unrighteous and immoral Actions? When *Abraham* was commanded to go out of his native Country, and from his Kindred, and from his Father's House; Things that Men reckon amongst some of the * dearest and most valuable Circumstances of their Being; would not the Principles and Passions of the human Constitution object to the Reasonableness and Fitness of such a Command? When our Saviour tells us: † *If any Man come to me, and hate not his Father and Mother and Wife and Children, and Brethren and Sisters, yea and his own Life also, he cannot be my Disciple*: i. e. doth not give up and readily part with all these, ra-

* Απεσερεν μεν εμε της πατριδος, απεσερεν δε αυτον ισραηλ κ' οσιων κ' των αλλων. απερ μεγαλα κ' περι πλειους εστιν ανθρωποις. Antiphont. Or. 14. p. 118. Edit. Wechel.

† Voluptas, vita, divitiæ: Quæ quidem contemnere, & pro nihilo ducere, comparantem cum utilitate communi, magni animi, & excelsi est. Cicer. de Offic. l. 3. c. 5. Luke xiv. 26.

ther than renounce the Cause of Righteousness and Truth ; were we to take counsel from, and follow the mere Dictates of the Passions of the human Constitution, I believe there would be few if any Disciples to follow him ; and that these Passions would plead much more strongly against renouncing for ever all these nearest and dearest Relations of our Being, and sacrificing Life itself ; than resigning the Life of a Child for a short Season to God, that I was sure would be immediately or soon restor'd me by a miraculous and glorious Resurrection. But I did not know that the Passions of the human Constitution were, according to the Dictates of Philosophy, to determine us in these Cases ; but imagined that Reason was to controul the Passions, and reduce them intirely to Obedience. And thus * *Abraham* thought, and became hereby, I think, an heroick Example of Piety, Virtue and Moderation.

12. He farther affirms, that *Abraham's* Conduct in this Affair † *was an Example of the Efficacy and Acceptableness of human Sacrifices to God ; because God would not command Abraham, as an Example to others, a thing unfit to be done ; and because if it was a Thing so acceptable to God and agreeable to his Perfections, to try Abraham's highest Faith, how much more meri-*

* Ο δε κ' τοι ποθ' αλεκτω τε παῖδος εκκρεμαμενος, & την ψυχην εκαμφθη γνωμη, δ' ανενδοτω κ' ασεβει διεμεινεν ακλινης, οιος κ' περσεν ω· ερωτι δε θεω δεδασμασμενος ανακρατος ενικα παντα οσα συγγενειας ονοματα κ' φιλτρα. Phil. de Abr. p. 292.

† Vol. III. p. 269.

torious must it have been in those who actually did it in after Ages, as taking Example and Encouragement from Abraham, and thereby going farther than Abraham in the same Sort of Faith and Obedience. If he intended hereby to insinuate, that after Ages took Example and Encouragement from Abraham to offer human Sacrifices, I must put him in Mind of what he asserts in his first Volume, that † it was the common Notion, or general received Opinion of Abraham's Time, that human Sacrifices might be enjoyn'd and accepted of God, as the most valuable and meritorious Parts of Obedience; and that therefore the ascribing such a Persuasion and Practice to Abraham's Example, as the Rise and Support of it, which had commonly obtain'd before this Example was given, is without any Colour of Reason, or Shadow of Equity and Truth.

But if he means, that *Abraham's* Example, might, in common, with the Example of others, and the received Opinion and Practice of that Time, help to countenance and establish such a Practice in After-ages, let us see upon this Supposition, how the Philosopher's Reasoning will turn out. God commanded *Abraham* to offer his Son: *Ergo*, after Ages might offer their Sons without a Command from God. God commanded *Abraham* to take away his Son's Life for a small Season: *Ergo*, After-ages may take away their Sons Lives without any

* Vol. I. p. 133.

Command absolutely and forever. God commanded *Abraham* to take away his Son's Life, to prove him whether he could depend on his Power and Faithfulness immediately or soon to recover him from the Dead: *Ergo*, After-ages may do the same, when they are not tried at all by God, and have neither the divine Power or Faithfulness to secure a Resurrection of those they offer. God did not permit *Abraham* to offer up his Son: *Ergo*, after Ages may go farther, and actually sacrifice their Children; *i. e.* go contrary to God's Permission, and do what he never intended *Abraham* should do, and finally forbid him to do. I envy not the Philosopher these Reasonings. Let him triumph in them as unanswerable, and look down with Contempt on all who will not own the glaring Demonstration. He may as well argue, that because God may take away Life, and transfer Property, that therefore Men may commit Murther and Theft, and alledge the Example of God as an Encouragement to these Crimes. I have nothing to reply to these Kind of Arguments, but leave them to make all the Impressions they are capable of.

If *Abraham* had offered his Son, what would have been the Efficacy of it? What to expiate the moral Guilt of Sin, or to extricate him from any immediate Danger? Ridiculous. What single Intimation of this is there in the whole History? And yet 'twas in these Things
the

the Nations placed the whole Efficacy of human Sacrifices. The only Thing in *Abraham's* Conduct that could have been acceptable to God, was the Readiness of his Obedience, and the Strength of his Faith in the divine Promises; neither of which Circumstances could possibly ever take place in the human Sacrifices that were made by others. They believed that the very * Blood and absolute Death of the Victim, was that in which the whole Efficacy of the Sacrifice consisted, and was the Thing in which their Gods delighted. *Abraham* knew that God neither intended, nor delighted in the one or other; and that the proper Reason of the Command to him, was only either to give him an Opportunity of displaying the Strength of his own Faith in the divine Power and Fidelity, or that God might have an illustrious Occasion to display those Attributes in the Resurrection of his Son; and therefore *Abraham's* Faith and Obedience were as different from the Persuasion and Principles upon which others acted, in the human Sacrifices they offer'd, as Truth from Falsehood, Cruelty from Mercy, and the most unnatural Superstition from the highest Instance of Piety and Virtue.

The Principles on which they acted, argued the most corrupt and degenerate Sentiments

* Sanguine placastis ventos, & virgine cæsa,
Cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad oras :
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica.

Virg. *Æneid.* l. v. 114.

concerning God and the Nature of his Worship; those by which *Abraham* conducted himself were rational in themselves, and agreeable to all the natural Notions of God's Perfections, and argued the fullest Persuasion in him of the divine Goodness, Veracity and Power. So that there is not one single Circumstance similar in these two Cases, of *Abraham's* intended Sacrifice, and the human Sacrifices offered by those who lived before or after him. And if any reasonable Inference could be made from his Conduct it must be this: That human Sacrifices will never be accepted of God, because in the Sense and Manner in which the Nations offered them, they were never commanded by God, nor ever intended to be offered by this Holy and Venerable Patriarch.

And I really think, that one principal Design of this whole Affair was effectually to discourage all human Sacrifices, and absolutely to prevent the Posterity of this holy Patriarch from every Attempt to offer them. For what could be a more certain Inference from this History, than that God would not accept them? *Abraham* had received a Command to offer his Son. In Obedience to God he resolves to comply with it in its utmost Extent, from a firm Dependence on the Power and Goodness of God to restore him. So that if an human Sacrifice could have been in any Instance and on any Accounts acceptable, it must have been to in this of *Abraham*, which had the divine Order

Order to justify it, and every Recommendation, that the strongest Faith, and the most rational and unquestionable Piety to the true God, could give it, and which, had it been permitted, must have been succeeded by the noblest Display of the divine Power, Veracity and Goodness in the Resurrection of the Sacrifice offer'd. And yet rather than give any Countenance, or possible Encouragement to such a Practice, God absolutely prohibited the Offering to be made; thereby plainly declaring, that no future Pretences to a divine Command, no Professions of Piety to and Faith in the true God, no Zeal for the Honour of Religion, could ever justify such Sacrifices, or recommend them to his Acceptance; and that he had rather dispense with the Illustration of his own Attributes and Perfections, than display them by such Methods as might have any Tendency to the Misery and Destruction of Mankind. And that the Remembrance of God's determined Purpose never to accept such Sacrifices might be perpetuated amongst *Abraham's* Posterity, the very Name of the Place, where the Lamb was provided, was called, *The Lord will provide*; and from this miraculous Exchange it became a common Form of Expression amongst good Men: *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be provided*. God will miraculously provide a Lamb in the Mount itself, where least expected, rather than accept an human Sacrifice; or suffer the Life of Man to be taken away, tho' but for a

Season, out of Devotion and Piety to himself. And from hence it follows :

That this Command to *Abraham*, could never be any just Encouragement to this Kind of Superstition, of offering human Sacrifices, in After-ages, but is itself a standing Prohibition of it. Men may indeed draw unreasonable Consequences from any Thing, and abuse any particular Revelations from God to very enthusiastical Purposes. Even the Reality of divine Communications hath given rise to Imposture, on one Hand, and to many idle and fanatical Pretences to Inspiration, on the other. But will any Man say that Revelation from God is an unfit Thing, because designing or weak Men may abuse it, or that God ought not to have made any Revelations to Mankind, to have prevented such Effects of their Wickedness and Folly? It is possible some ill Use might be made of such a Command of God to *Abraham* as this to offer his Son. But if such an ill Use could not be made of it with *any just Reason*, doth it therefore follow that it was unworthy of God to give it? Or are the possible, unreasonable Abuses of any divine Order, the Thing that is to determine the Conduct of God, and make such an Order fit or unfit to be given? No Man of Sense will assert this, or stand to all the Consequences of such an Assertion.

'Tis a sufficient Vindication of the Providence of the God in this Transaction with *Abraham*,

brabam, if it can be proved, that this Command could not give any the least reasonable Encouragement to human Sacrifices. And this I think may be proved to a Demonstration. For as God, tho' he gave the Command, did not permit it to be executed, it could never be a just Inference, that such an Offering would be acceptable to him, when actually executed, but never commanded. If this Sacrifice, which had every Circumstance of Obedience, Piety, and Faith in the true God, to recommend it, was not permitted, it would be monstrous to infer, that another such Kind of Sacrifice would be accepted where there could be no Pretence of any such Obedience, Piety, or Faith. If the Command to offer *Isaack*, when understood in the strongest Sense, was only to put him to a temporary Death, could it be any just Conclusion, that another Man, without Order, might absolutely and irrecoverably take away his Child's Life? To prevent any such Misapplication of the Command amongst the *Jews*, God expressly forbid by *Moses* every Offering of this Kind as an Abomination. * *Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God. For all Abominations which the Lord hateth have they done unto their Gods. For they have burned both their Sons and their Daughters with Fire to their Gods.* The Words, *Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God*, are as express a Prohibition as Words can contain of any such Sacrifices to

* Deut. xii. 31.

the God of *Israel*. Nor could any of *Abraham's* Posterity, when settled in *Canaan*, ever be in like Circumstances with him. For then they became the private Members of Society, and had no exclusive Right in their Children. They were the Children of the * Commonwealth, which had at least an equal Property in them with themselves ; which prohibited by the most express Laws all Kind of Murthers, and which would have punished with Death the Authors of such Sacrifices, how much soever they might have pretended to sanctify them under Colour of Religion. Nor do we read of one single Instance of such a Sacrifice amongst them, justified by this Command of God to *Abraham*.

In Truth, the Panick that some Persons are in, least this Instance should encourage such Kind of Sacrifices, is quite needless; since Nature itself hath taken care that such a Practice shall not become common. The *Romans*, tho' they had originally the utmost Power over their Children, and though they frequently exposed them, yet did not practice the savage Superstition of formally sacrificing them to their Gods ; and tho' several Instances of such inhuman Offerings may be found amongst the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and others, yet they don't appear to have been Sacrifices *freely made*, but with the

* Αλλα, το λεγουμενον, παντ' ανδρα κ' παιδα, ως της πο-
λεως μαλλον η των γεννητορων οντας. Plat. de Leg. l. 7. p.
804. Edit. Ser.

utmost Horreur and Reluctance, by the Order of their Priests, or the supposed Command of their Gods, or thro' the Compulsion of some extream Necessity, and to avoid a more dreadful Calamity. And as the *Jews* never were guilty of these *holy Barbarities* in the Worship of the true God, 'tis evident in Fact that the Case of *Abraham* had no bad Effect amongst them, nor indeed possibly could with any shew of Reason. And as this Custom had obtain'd amongst the idolatrous Nations before *Abraham*, the same Superstitions and Reasons, that first led them to these inhuman Practices, would have on some Occasions continued them, whether *Abraham* had ever been born or not; tho' had they rightly attended to his Case, they must necessarily have inferred the Unlawfulness of such Offerings, and that as God did not permit him actually to sacrifice his Son, and deprive him for the shortest Season of his Life, he would be much less pleased with Sacrifices from them, that implied the intire and absolute Destruction of the Lives of others. But lastly,

13. Our Philosopher tells us, that when 'tis pleaded, * *that what Abraham did was at the Command of God, but that they who afterwards offered Humane Sacrifices, had no such Authority for it*, is gratis dictum: *That they who offered Humane Sacrifices thought they had Reason for it, and that it would be highly acceptable and pleasing to God, since they could offer him no*

* Vol. III. p. 269, 270.

Thing else of so great Value, nor more precious to them. And this was Abraham's Faith and Persuasion. But that he had better Authority for it than others who actually did it, is the Thing in Question ; for 'tis certain, that the Nature and Reason of the Thing itself is the same in both. I think I have proved, that there is not one single Circumstance in the two Cases similar, and that therefore as the Nature and Reason of the Thing is essentially different, Abraham might, and did, act upon better Authority for it than others : And that his Faith and Persuasion was different from theirs, is as evident, as that his Faith and Persuasion was, that God would raise Isaac from the Dead, which our Philosopher doth not assert was the Faith and Persuasion of others. That Abraham was influenced to offer his Son from this Faith and Persuasion, that he could offer God nothing else of so great Value, or more precious to him, he asserts indeed, but doth not prove, nor is he able, with all his Skill, to prove. The History puts it upon quite another Foundation, the sole Authority and Command of God ; and 'tis to this Point he ought to keep ; otherwise he doth not argue against the History of the Bible, but a new Fable of his own Invention.

Nor indeed is there the least Shadow or Foundation of Reason or Probability, for imagining, that *Abraham* intended to offer his Son, because he could offer nothing that was so valuable or precious to himself. If this was his
grand

grand Inducement, he was then a *perfect Volun-*
tier in the Action, and resolved to do it out of
the *mere Wantonness* of Superstition and Enthu-
siasm; without any Calamity, or Distress, or
Cause whatsoever, to urge and force him to
such a Conduct: A Thing never heard off be-
fore or since, and contrary to the Reasons of
this Practice amongst all the Inhabitants of *Ca-*
naan, and other Nations; who, as appears from
the before-mention'd Passages out of *Porphyry*,
from the Testimony of *Philo*, * and the In-
stance of the † King of *Moab*, in the Sacred
History, never came *freely* to this ‡ dreadful Ex-
pedient of sacrificing their Children and nearest
Relations, but when pressed with some very
great Calamity, either of Wars, Pestilence, ex-
cessive Drought, or the like. But that *Abra-*
ham, who had renounced Idolatry, and came
from his own House and Family to keep him-
self clear of it, should take it into his Head,
and work himself into a Persuasion, § against all
Nature

* Πολλες γὰρ καὶ ἄλλες ρασι τῶν παυ φιλοικεῶν καὶ φιλοτεκ-
νων ἐπιδεῖναι τες αὐτῶν παιδας, τες μὲν ὑπὲρ πατριδῶν στρα-
γιαδιήσομεναι λυτῆρια, ἢ πελεμῶν, ἢ αὐχμῶν, ἢ ἐπομβρίας, ἢ
νοσημάτων λοιμικῶν γενήσομεναι. Phil. de Abrah. p. 293.

† 2 Kin. iii. 27.

‡ Καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας πατριδῶν καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐπιδιδῶσι
στραγιαδιήσομεναι τες αὐτῶν, ἢ οἰκοκαταμενέσιν, ἢ μακρὰν ἀρι-
σανταὶ τῶν βῶμων, ἢ καὶ παρατυχῶσι, τας οὐκ ἀποσρεφῶνται,
δεασαδαὶ μὴ ὑπομενοντες ἄλλων ἀναιρέων. Id. p. 295.

§ Φ: σὺ γὰρ, ὡς εἶπε τις, ἐργὸν μάχεσθαι. γνησίον τε υἱὸν
πεποινημένος μόνον τέτον, εὐθύς ἔχε καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς
εὐνοίας γνησίον, ὑπερβαλλὼν τες σωφρονας ἐρωτας καὶ τας φιλίας,
οσαι δὲ ὀνοματος γεγόνασι. Πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ βιασικώτατον φιλ-
τρῶν, τὸ μὴ καδ' ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν γῆρᾳ γεγενῆκεναι τὸν παῖδα.

Τοῖς

Nature and constant Experience, that God required him to sacrifice his Son, his only Son, the Son of his old Age, and that because nothing was so valuable to himself, therefore nothing could be more acceptable to God ; and that because God could, therefore he would raise him from the Dead, if he had burnt him to Ashes, and hereby out-run even all the Nations of *Canaan* in Folly, Rashness, and impious, unnatural Superstition ; is inconsistent with the Reason of Things, and the whole Character of *Abraham*, as related by the Historian, and as unnatural an Imagination as could ever enter into the Heart of a Man. But that this same *Abraham* should one Minute *conceit* that he had such a Command from God, and the next Minute, finding a Ram accidentally tied in a Bush near him, should, just as he was about to destroy his Son, have a *second Conceit*, that God had not commanded it, and a sudden *Thought dart* into his Mind, that this Ram would be more acceptable to God than his own Son, who just before he conceived would be more acceptable, because more valuable to him, than the Ram ; these are such very pretty *delicate philosophical Conceits*, that I *can't* *conceit* in my Heart to say any Thing to put our Philosopher *out of Conceit* with them, but leave him in full Possession of all that Pleasure and Happiness which I am sure they afford him. He may call this *Reasoning*,

Τοις γὰρ ὀψιγονοῖς ἐπιμεμνηναὶ πῶς οἰτοκῆς, ἢ τῷ μακρὸν ἐπιποδῆσαι χρόνον τὴν γενεσὶν αὐτῶν, ἢ τῷ μικρῷ ἑτέρους ἐλπίζειν ἐσεῖναι, τῆς φύσεως ἐν τῷ πεπαυμένῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ τελευταίῳ καὶ ὑστατῶν ὄρον. Id. Ibid.

I think

I think it *Trifling*, and beneath the Dignity of a Philosopher, to bring in *Mights*, and *May Be's*, to destroy History, and to account for Things that are related, and have been universally understood, as real Facts.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the HEBREW Idiom and Phraseology.

MY Reader will observe, that I have all along argued upon the Supposition of the Truth of what the History asserts, that *Abraham* acted by a Divine Command, and been endeavouring to justify *Abraham's* Conduct upon this Foundation. But I might have saved myself, it seems, all this Trouble, if I had had the Philosopher's Skill in Languages; and particularly understood, like him, the *Hebrew Idiom and Phraseology*. I might then have known, that to say what *Abraham* did, was at the Command of God, is *gratis dictum*; and I might farther have known, that God in those Days appeared and spoke to Men more Ways than one, i. e. according to this incomparable Linguist, that God never spoke to them really at all. For thus our learned Orientalist immediately explains it. God often appeared and spoke to them in their Dreams, or they dreamed that God appeared and spoke to them, and directed them to act and conduct themselves in this or that Way; and when any such Dream had made a strong Impression on them, they interpreted it as the Voice and Will of God to them. And thus they

† Vol. III. p. 270.

understood

understood any remarkable or uncommon Incident of Providence towards them, as the Voice of God to them, and a Direction or Command from him. A most judicious Remark this, and of so great Importance to the Cause of Learning and Morality, that he is careful his Readers shall have it twice or thrice repeated ! However, tho' he hath been so kind as to favour us with this useful Observation, he hath forgot to make his Application, and to let us know how we are to understand the Phraseology made use of in the Introduction to this Part of *Abraham's* History : *It came to pass, that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Take thy Son and offer him for a Burnt-offering :* Whether *Abraham* only dreamt that God thus spoke to him, or there was any remarkable or uncommon Incident of Providence towards him, that he conceived was the Voice of God. As the History mentions no such extraordinary Incident, I think we can't reasonably suppose it, especially as 'tis not easy to imagine what Incident there could happen, that should bring it into his Head, that God commanded him to sacrifice his Son.

Abraham therefore dreamt that God commanded him ; and why may I not as well suppose, that *Abraham* only dreamt that he sacrificed his Son ? And then, as the Philosopher hath cleared God, of what he supposes an absurd and immoral Command, I also will clear *Abraham* of the Absurdity and Immorality of the Fact ; for I think I have as much a Right to dream, and introduce
a Dream,

a Dream, as this Philosopher; and thus we have got rid of the whole Difficulty attending this Piece of History at once, and all his Declamations about it might have been entirely spared. For I hope he will not charge the Patriarch with an Immorality for sacrificing his Son in a Dream; and I am sure, that if he only dreamt he had an Order to offer him, he offered him, not in Reality, but a Dream only. For the History absolutely supposes both or neither.

But let us see how our Philosopher's *Doctrine of Dreaming* will suit other Passages of Sacred History. He tells us, * *Jehovah appeared to Abraham, and promises him a Son by Sarai, when he was ninety nine, and she eighty nine Years old.* Let it pass for true, that *Abraham* only dreamed that *Jehovah* appeared to him. A strange Dream this, for a Man of an hundred Years old, but much stranger that such a Dream should actually come to pass! What did his Wife conceive at ninety Years old, and become with Child, by Virtue of her Husband's dreaming too? This is one of the oddest Ways of Conception, and being with Child, that ever was heard of; and if the Philosopher was Master of this mighty Secret, and could convey such *prolifick Dreams*, to certain Persons that I could name him, it would be of more worth to him, than all the *Philosophical*, or *Medical Treatises* he'll ever publish to the End of his Life. And if all that is recorded in the History, of God's

* Vol. III. p. 90.

appearing to *Abraham*, and promising him a Child by *Sarai*, when she was ninety Years of Age, be nothing but *Abraham's* Dream, I will undertake to demonstrate, that *Sarah* was with Child by a Dream only ; since it could not be by a Man, much less a Man of an hundred Years old, without an evident and incontestable Miracle. The Philosopher's Method therefore of *Solution by Dreams*, will not *clear up* all our Difficulties, no nor quite account for the *Hebrew* Idiom and Phraseology.

'Tis an Observation indeed quite new to me, and I believe to the whole learned World, that this same *Hebrew* Phraseology should love to express Things by Contraries, and when it affirms, that such and such Things were done and said, should mean, that such Things were really never done or said ; or which is the same Thing, were only dreamed to have been done and said. In like manner, 'tis very critically observed, that God * *spoke by the accidental Entertainment and Lodgment of Strangers and Travellers, that brought them any Intelligence of great Moment, and who were therefore considered and spoken of as the Angels of the Lord, or Messengers from God to them.* So that, by the Angels of the Lord, we are not to understand Angels of the Lord, but Strangers considered as Angels of the Lord, that brought great News and Intelligence. 'Twas great News to *Abraham*, that *Sarah* should prove with Child by him at ninety Years

old. But, if I might be allowed, without Offence, to ask a Question here from such a Master in Languages : How came the Angel, the No-Angel, the Considered-Angel, this Messenger of Intelligence, by this great News ? And how came *Sarah* to be with Child in Virtue of it ? The Age of *Sarah*, *very fortunately*, prevents the Suspicion of its being done by the *Angelical* Strangers and Travellers that *Abraham* entertain'd ; otherwise, I doubt not, but the Philosopher would immediately have called in one of their Assistance to have supplied the Defects of the aged Patriarch, as he hath, *with an inhumane Cruelty*, brought in * *Eli's* Sons, to blast the Reputation, and *stab the Character* of *Samuel's* Mother. But, as *Sarah's* Age sets her above this Scandal, the Philosopher's *Doctrine of Travelling* will no better account for this Part of History, than his *Arcanum of Dreaming* ; and we must be forced to give some other Turn to the Phraseology, in this, and some other Instances, to reconcile the Historian's Account of Things to Nature and Reason.

Perhaps, as *Abraham* had a very good Knack at *Conceiting*, in the Philosopher's Opinion, *Sarah* might be as dextrous at it as himself, and prove with Child, and bring forth a Son, by the Strength of her Conceit ; and this is the more reconcileable to Nature and Reason, because 'tis well known, or at least generally believed, that the Conceit and Imagination of Women do

* Vol. III. Page 307.

sometimes produce very surprizing Effects : And why not therefore a Conception and real Birth ? A Dissertation on this Subject *of Conceiting*, by the Philosopher, would be a most wonderful Curiosity.

But to return to the History of *Abraham's* Sacrifice ; let us see how it will appear and read, when stript of the *Hebrew* Phraseology and Idiom, and expressed in such Terms, as the Philosopher imagines, will reconcile it to Nature and Reason. *It came to pass, after these Things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said to him, Abraham. And he said, Behold, here am I. And he said, Take now thy Son, ^{thy} only Son, whom thou lovest, even Isaack, and get thee into the Land of Moriah, and offer him there for a Burnt-offering upon one of the Mountains, which I will tell thee of, i. e. as the Philosopher explains the Hebrew Phraseology : After these Things, it did not come to pass, that God did tempt Abraham, but Abraham conceited, or dreamt, that God tempted him, or some Traveller brought him the News, that God tempted him, or the Death of some Relation, or some remarkable Occurrence of Providence tempted him, and said, Abraham : And Abraham said, viz. to his Conceit, or his Dream, or the Traveller, or the Death of his Relation, or the remarkable Occurrence : Behold, here am I. And he said, viz. the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, the Death, the Occurrence, said : Take now thy Son, and offer him upon one of the Mountains*

tains which I, God, will not tell thee of; but the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, &c. shall tell thee of. And Abraham rose and went unto the Place which God had not told him of, but the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, &c. had told him of. And Isaack said, Where is the Lamb for a Burnt-offering? And Abraham said, My Son, God will not provide himself a Lamb for a Burnt-offering, but the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, &c. will. And they came to the Place which God had not told him of, but which the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, told him of. And as Abraham stretched forth his Hand to slay his Son, the Angel of the Lord, i. e. some Stranger or Traveller that he then accidentally entertain'd, and that brought him some Intelligence of great Moment, and whom he therefore considered and spoke of as an Angel of the Lord, or a Messenger from God to him, called unto him out of Heaven, i. e. accidentally from behind a Bush, where there was a Ram tied, and said, Abraham, Abraham. And Abraham said, to this accidental Traveller, whom he considered as an Angel, or Messenger of the Lord to him, Here am I. And he, the accidental Traveller, said to him: Lay not thy Hand upon the Lad, for now I know that thou fearest God; seeing thou hast not with-held thy Son from me, the accidental Traveller, whom thou hearest, and whom thou takest for the Angel or Messenger of God to thee. And Abraham lift up his Eyes, and behold, behind him a Ram caught in a

Thicket by his Horns, which the Angel, or Messenger Stranger, had tied in a Bush just by, and Abraham offered him up instead of his Son, i. e. as the Philosopher explains it: *He had a sudden Thought darted into his Mind, that this was a Declaration from God to him, that he ought not to sacrifice the Child, but the Ram. And the Angel of the Lord*, i. e. the accidental Stranger Messenger, *called unto Abraham, out of Heaven*, i. e. from behind the Bush, *a second Time, and said: By myself have I not sworn, saith Jehovah, but by myself have I sworn*, saith the Conceit, the Dream, the Traveller, &c. *that in Blessing I, the Conceit, &c. will bless thee, &c. because thou hast obeyed my, the Conceit's, &c. Voice.* Put the Phraseology into the Philosopher's plain Language, and the History will run in the Manner I have above represented it; and, I am sure, every one must allow it to be, in this View, the most entertaining Piece of History that ever was penned, and pay his Compliments to the Philosopher, for the Light he hath thrown upon the *Hebrew* Phraseology and Idiom. 'Tis pity he doth not favour the learned World with his critical Remarks upon the whole Old Testament, for he would discover, by such Kind of Criticisms, *more wonderful Wonders*, than were ever conceived, or dreamt of before; and demonstrate, that all the Criticks who preceeded him *were diminutive Dwarfs*, in Criticism, who * *could not reach to the Sublimities of his supernatural and divine Genius.*

* Vol. III. p. 271.

And that this Account of the *Hebrew* Phraseology must be true, he endeavours to confirm, by observing: † *That God did then really appear and converse with Men, and that they were almost as familiar with Angels, as with one another, is a Thing not to be proved by a strict, literal Translation of one Language into another, against all Nature and Reason, and all the general Laws of Providence by which God governs the World.*

I do not know, that any Man ever attempted to prove one or other of those Propositions, by a strict, literal Translation of one Language into another: Nor do I apprehend, that a literal Translation proves any Thing. The Sentiments conveyed by any Language, and a literal Translation of that Language, are exactly the same; and whatever be the real Meaning of such a Language, the same will be precisely the Meaning of the literal Translation. If the Words מלאך יהוה *Malach Jehovah*, do mean in the *Hebrew*, an Angel of the Lord, or a Stranger, considered as a Messenger of the Lord; the *English* Words, *An Angel of the Lord*, which is the literal Translation of the *Hebrew*, will mean exactly the same Thing, and nothing else; and if the Enquiry is, what the *Hebrew* Words mean? 'tis as truly to inquire, what the *English* Translation signifies? and to determine the former, is truly to determine the latter. And when the *Hebrew* Language saith, *God did appear and converse with Men*, and that Angels did appear

* Vol. III. p. 271.

to Men, the literal Translation of the *Hebrew* into *English*, says and proves no more than what the *Hebrew* doth; and the only Question is, What those Propositions mean, whether expressed in the original Language, or the Translation. And if the Translation be strict and literal, such a Translation conveys as true an Idea of the Genius and Nature of the original *Hebrew*, as the *Hebrew* itself; because the Ideas they convey are precisely the same. And, if Men are capable, by Observation and Attention, of understanding the Idiom and Phraseology of the original *Hebrew*, they are just as capable of understanding it by an exact literal Translation, by the same Observation and Attention. And therefore, if the *Hebrew* Historian doth assert, that God did converse with Men, and Angels did appear to them, and the literal *English* Translation asserts just the same; the literal Translation will infallibly prove, that the *Hebrew* Historian did assert such Appearances and Converses to be real, if the Words in the original *Hebrew* do, in their plain, and natural Sense, convey such a Meaning. Whether such Appearances are agreeable to Reason and Nature is another Thing, and depends neither on the *Hebrew*, nor the Translation.

The Philosopher says, * they are *against all Nature, or Reason. That God should be essentially visible, and this at one Time, or Place, more truly than another*, I allow to be so. Nor is there

* Vol. III, p. 271.

any Thing in the *Hebrew* Idiom or Phraſeology to countenance ſuch a Suppoſition. But that there ſhould be ſome external viſible Glory, as an Emblem, or Symbol, of the inviſible God, immediately to draw the Attention of thoſe to whom it appears, to lead and conduct them on particular Occaſions, and to be a Proof of God's peculiar Regard to, and Protection over them, is no more againſt Reaſon and Nature, in my Judgment, than that he ſhould create an external World to be a Witneſs of his Being and Perfections, and exerciſe a real Providence over that World, *i. e.* the Individuals of which it conſiſts, when once he hath made it. If God can diſcover his Mind and Will to Men, by immediate Voices for that Purpoſe, by Impreſſions on their Minds, either when awake or aſleep, or by the Mediation and Miniſtration of Angels; ſuch Appearances of God will not be *againſt Nature*, *i. e.* impoſſible in the Nature of Things; and if there ſhould be any *extraordinary Ends* to answer, by ſuch Appearances, they will be as little *contrary to true Reaſon*, as real Nature. And if the Philoſopher will prove any Thing to the Purpoſe, it muſt not be by Aſſertions and *quaint Obſervations*, about Idioms and Phraſeologies, of which he knows nothing, but by directly ſhewing, that ſuch Appearances are impoſſible, or that there were no worthy and ſuitable Ends of Providence to be answered by them. He himſelf ſpeaks with great Con-

tempt

tempt of those Gentlemen, who are * *so wise, as to scorn any Communications from God.* But how must these Communications be made to them, if made, but in some or other of the Ways, by which the *Hebrew* Historian affirms God communicated himself under the Old Testament? If he rejects all Communications from God himself, as contrary to Nature and Reason, why so much Contempt of those who profess, with himself, to scorn them? If he allows the Possibility and Reality of them, let him shew they cannot be convey'd by the foregoing Methods, and point out others, more certain and agreeable to Nature and Reason.

What he says, of their *being almost as familiar with Angels, as with one another*, is below Notice; since there are but very few of the Appearances of Angels recorded in the Old Testament, during the two hundred and ten Years that *Abraham, Isaack and Jacob* lived in *Canaan*; nor is there any Familiarity spoken of unbecoming the Dignity of those superiour Beings, or the Importance of the Messages they delivered.

And finally, when he adds, that *these Appearances are against all the general Laws of Providence, by which God governs the World*, I must observe, that I know of no such general Laws of Providence, as to exclude particular Interpositions of God, when the wise Ends of Providence require it. And in this Opinion I am

* Vol. I. p. 191.

confirmed by what I have read, *with great Pleasure*, in the Philosopher himself; who tells us: * *That when Men will be learned beyond the Measures of Sobriety, they must run into Schemes and Methods of philosophizing equally absurd and irreligious. And that 'tis certain, that if God governs moral Agents at all, he must govern them by Hope and Fear, or by such a wise and suitable Application of Rewards and Punishments, as the different Circumstances of Persons, and the Ends of Government require. And these Rewards and Punishments, must be such as are not the natural, necessary Consequences of the Actions themselves; since every one must see, that this would be no Government at all, and that the Case, in this Respect, must be the very same, whether we suppose any rectoral Justice, or any Presence or Operation of God in the World, or not. This is Part of the Philosopher's Sermon to Theophanes; and the evident Design of it is to shew, that the Providence and Government of God over the moral World, is not tied up to any general Laws, or the natural and necessary Consequences of Things; but left at Liberty to act, as the different Circumstances of Persons, and the Ends of Government may require. And I am abundantly convinced, that this is the real Truth of the Case. Now how it should be an Argument to disprove the Appearances of God and his Angels, as recorded in the Old Testament History, that they are against all the gene-*

* Vol. I. p. 189, 190.

ral Laws of Providence, when he allows, that Providence is not tied up to any general Rules, but the Government of God must be *sui*ted to the different Circumstances of Persons, and the Ends it proposes, I leave to him, at his Leisure, to reconcile: And let him explain the Words, *contrary to the general Laws of Providence*, in what Sense he pleases; yet it will follow, from his own Account of Providence, that if the different Circumstances of Persons, and the Ends of Government require such a Conduct of God, in the Application of Rewards and Punishments, as is, in the strictest and strongest Sense, *against all the general Laws of Providence*; I say, it will undeniably follow, upon this Supposition, from his own Principles, that the Providence and Government of God must be conducted, in these particular Instances, against the general Laws of Providence; and that therefore 'tis no reasonable Objection against any particular Occurrences, ascribed to the Providence and Government of God in the sacred Writings, that they are not conducted by divine Providence, because they are, or appear to be contrary to, or against the general Laws of Providence.

Thus have I finished my Observations upon the History of *Abraham*. Whether I have thus far made good my Charge against the Philosopher of Misrepresentation, and falsifying the *Hebrew* Historian, I must leave to the Judgment of the World. The particular Misrepresentations and Falsehoods

hoods I charge on the Philosopher, in this Period of the *Hebrew* History, are these. He asserts :

1. That God promised *Abram* a rich and fertile Country, without naming it, and that therefore he thought *Egypt* the most promising Place.

2. That as *Abram* could not think *Palestine* the Place designed him, therefore he went down to *Egypt*, as presuming that must be the promised Land.

3. That he went down into *Egypt* with a Design to settle there.

4. That he found *Egypt* was not the Country God designed him, by his being driven out of it by the *Egyptian* King.

5. That the Appearance of God to *Abram*, mention'd *Gen. xii.* is the first Instance of the supream God, or *Jehovah* appearing and conversing with Men.

6. That the original Name of the Land of *Canaan* was *Philistia*.

7. That it was afterwards called *Canaan* by *Moses* when the *Canaanite* came to settle there.

8. That whilst *Joseph* kept his Interest at the Court of *Egypt*, the *Canaanites* were not yet settled in the Land of *Canaan*.

9. That when *Abram* first came into it, *Palestine* was a very barren desert Country, very subject to Drought and Scarcity, open, waste, and uncultivated.

10. That *Palestine* seemed a very unlikely Place for the Accomplishment of God's Promise to give him a rich and fertile Country.

11. That

11. That the *Philistines* first took Possession of the Land of *Canaan*.

12. That all the Sea-coasts of the *Mediterranean*, from *Sidon* to *Sibor*, on the Borders of *Egypt*, were inhabited in the Time of *Abram*, by the *Sidonians* and *Philistines*.

13. That there were no such People as the *Amorites* in *Abram's* Time.

14. That *Abram* prevailed on *Sarai* to deny her being his Wife.

15. That he was ready to sacrifice her Chastity, and prostitute her to the *Egyptian* King.

16. That he was ready to prostitute her from a Fondness for *Egypt*, a Persuasion 'twas the Country God had given him, and to secure himself a Settlement there.

17. That God promised to settle *Abram's* Posterity in the everlasting peaceable Possession of *Canaan*, in a miraculous Way, and by doing every Thing for them.

18. That he promised thus to settle them in that Country, at the End of four hundred Years, from the Birth of *Isaack*.

19. That at the End of this Period, they were to be put into peaceable Possession of the whole Land, from *Sidon* to the Borders of *Egypt*.

20. That they were, upon the solemn Oath of God, to be thus put into Possession of it.

21. That *Moses* revives this ancient Grant from God to *Abram*.

22. That the *Israelites* were not in Possession of a tenth Part of this large Tract.

23. That

23. That as this Promise of the four hundred Years was never made good, 'tis to make God a Liar, to suppose it absolute ; and that if 'twas conditional, *Moses* was an Impostor.

24. That the *Hebrew* Patriarchs, *Abram*, *Isaack* and *Jacob*, had never any original Design of settling in *Palestine*.

25. That *Abram* might easily have possessed himself of *Canaan*, in his Time, and conquered the whole Land, and driven out all the former Inhabitants then settled in the Country, because he had a Force superiour to any, or all of them.

26. That *Isaack* and *Jacob* were superiour in Force and Power to any Nation, or Colony, then in *Canaan*.

27. That they made no Purchases therein.

28. That their real Design, from first to last, was upon *Egypt*.

29. That just before the Promise of the four hundred Years, God promised *Abram* he should certainly have a Son and Heir by *Sarai* his Wife, notwithstanding her great Age.

30. That when *Abraham* ran to meet the three Men, he addressed himself to *Jehovah*: LORD, *If I have found Favour in thy Sight*.

31. That *Abraham* had wrought himself up to such a Persuasion, as that he concluded, God in reality required him to sacrifice his Son, and that accordingly he resolved upon it, as an Act of Obedience to God.

These several Particulars I charge on the Philosopher, as downright--Falsehoods and Misrepresentations,

tations, and as to most of them, very *shameful and scandalous ones* ; because he tells us : * *I shall take this Account from the Hebrew Historians themselves, as they have it in their own Books.*

Whereas, he hath not taken this Account, in any Part of it, from the *Hebrew Historians*. And tho' he constantly quotes Chapter and Verse, and with a Confidence, peculiar to himself, asserts, *this is plain, and that is clear, from the Historian's own Account* ; yet the Places he cites, do not assert the Thing he cites them for, but generally do assert the direct contrary, and that in the plainest and strongest Terms. And for this I now appeal to all the unprejudiced Part of Mankind, whether Deists or Christians ; and leave it to them, what to think of the Morality or Philosophy of the Man, who can falsify and invent History, and, with an *unparalleled Assurance*, tell the World, that he'll take his Account from the Historians themselves, as they have it in their own Books.

I shall next proceed, if God spare me Life and Leisure, to consider his Account of the Descent into *Egypt*, and the Conquest of *Canaan* ; in which the same Accuracy and Care, the same Reading and Learning, the same steady Disposition of Candor and Integrity, the same sacred Attachment to Truth and Fact, will appear in equally strong Characters, and, if possible, in a much more glaring and convincing Light.

* Vol. III. p. 6.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.
PART. II.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT
PART II.

A
DEFENCE

OF THE
PRIME MINISTRY

AND
CHARACTER of JOSEPH:

IN ANSWER to the
Misrepresentations and Calumnies

OF THE LATE
THOMAS MORGAN, M.D.
and MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

By SAMUEL CHANDLER.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. NOON, at the *White Hart*, near *Mercers Chapel, Cheapside*. MDCCLIII.

DEFENCE

OF THE

ARMY MINISTRY

AND

OFFICE OF THE

SECRETARY

TO THE

PARLIAMENT

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY

W. H. D. D.

1884

C A P. II.

*The History and Character of Joseph
vindicated.*

HAVING followed our learned Philosopher in *his Rambles thro' Palestine*, and examined his Account of the History of those three venerable Patriarchs, *Abraham, Isaack and Jacob*; I next proceed to consider his Character of *Joseph*, whom he plentifully loads with his *usual Favours*, and treats with that *Politeness* and good Manners, which is peculiar to him, above all other Writers in the World. Steady to himself, he is resolved to continue to the End

Qualis ab incepto processerit——

and to give no quarter to a single Person of Jewish Birth and Education.

I believe 'tis impossible for any one in the World, *the Moral Philosopher* only excepted, to read the History of *Joseph*, as related by the Sacred Historian, without being prepossessed in Favour of that great Man. The Occurrences of his Life are so very peculiar, the extraordinary Providences that attend him so remarkable, the Moderation and Equity of his Conduct so apparent, throughout the whole of his Behaviour, as that no one of Humanity can help sharing

S

with

with him in his Misfortunes, taking Pleasure in his Prosperity, and admiring the Life and Character of a Person, who seem'd *the Favourite* both of God and Man. And were there any Circumstances in his History, that at first View appeared inconsistent with the general Probity of his Character ; Humanity and Charity would gladly find out somewhat to soften and extenuate them ; and either wholly pass them over in silence, or mention them with the greatest Tendernefs, as Instances of the Frailty of human Nature in general, and to shew that the most exalted Characters have their Allays and Blemishes ; rather than with a Design wholly to destroy and blast him, and sink him down, with all his Virtues, under eternal Infamy and Abhorrence.

I have one Pleasure in the Controversy with this Philosopher, and it will be a Pleasure to me, I trust in God, in the last Moments of my Life, that I am employ'd in the benevolent and friendly Work, of vindicating the memories of the Dead, who are not able to plead for themselves, and who have been insulted, abused, wounded and mangled by this Philosopher. Let him go on, and *feed himself* with Pleasures of this Kind. I thank God I dread the Disposition, that can *draw Satisfaction* and a *Lively-hood*, from such an Employment, worse than Poverty and Death, and had rather my Name should be buried in eternal Oblivion, than gain an immortal Remembrance, by becoming *the*
common

common Reviler of others. All Antiquity, Sacred and Prophane, that speaks of *Joseph*, doth Honour to his Name, and mentions him with Veneration and Esteem. The only Man that treats him with Insolence and Contempt, and almost from his very Birth to his Death represents him as a restless ambitious Destroyer, without allowing him one single good Qualification, or real Virtue, is this Man; who with a Pen *dipt in Bitterness* and Gall, and an Heart that discovers *no Remorse* for the Ruin he is creating, and the Defamation that he is spreading, appears under the Guise of a *Moral Philosopher*. He hath held him up to the World as * *an ambitious Enterpriser, cunning Politician, Egyptian Landlord, Taskmaster and Tyrant*. And to justify this Account, contrary to the Faith of all History, hath the Modesty to tell the World, that he will † *take the Account from the Hebrew Historians themselves, as they have it in their own Books*; and that he'll ‡ *keep close to the Hebrew Historian, and draw nothing into Consequence, but what must necessarily arise from the Text*. How well he hath kept this Promise, the Reader will soon judge.

* Page 10.

† Page 6.

‡ Page 8.

S E C T. I.

Of Joseph's early Disposition.

THat he may make this great Man's Character intirely and uniformly bad, the Philosopher tells us, * *that he discovered very early his enterprising Genius, and aspiring Temper; and it was this boundless Ambition, and Thirst of Wealth and Dominion, which incurred the Displeasure of his Brethren, made him insufferable in his Father's House, and occasioned a Vassalage which turned up so much to his Advantage.* This is an unfortunate Beginning for the Philosopher, because the *Hebrew Historian*, to whom he promises he'll *keep close*, hath not one single Syllable about *boundless Ambition, and thirst of Wealth*; but expressly ascribes the Hatred of his Brethren to another Cause. He tells us: † *Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his Children, because he was the Son of his old Age, and he made him a Coat of many Colours: And when his Brethren saw, that their Father loved him more than all his Brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him; so that the Partiality, Fondness, and Affection of old Jacob for him was the true Reason that made him incur his Brethrens Displeasure, and that occasioned his Vassalage.* Other Writers ascribe it to another Cause that clears him intirely from the Philosopher's Charge, and is much to Joseph's Ho-

* Vol. III. Page 7. 8.

† Gen. xxxvii. 3. 4.

nour. * *Artapanus*, cited by *Eusebius*, tells us, that because *he excelled the rest of his Brethren in Wisdom and Understanding*, they laid Snares for him to betray him. And † *Justin* in like Manner : *His Brethren feared his excellent Genius, and surprised and sold him to Foreign Merchants*. What increased their Rancour against him was, his telling his Father of the ‡ *evil Behaviour of the Sons of Bilhah and Zilpah*, his Brothers ; and the *two Dreams* that he dreamt and related to his Brethren. Possibly the Philosopher grounds his Charge of *Ambition*, and *thirst of Wealth*, on this Circumstance. But with how little Reason ? A Man's Dreams are not in his own Power, and the very Age of *Joseph*, who was now a Lad but of Seventeen, is methinks sufficient to screen him from such a *premeditated Design* of subjecting his Father and Brethren to himself, as might in a natural Way occasion those Dreams. The relating || them to his Father and Brethren seems to argue great *Simplicity*, and want of Caution and Thought, and actually occasioned his Father to rebuke him ; tho' they were so extraordinary in themselves, as that they might naturally be thought to come

* Συβείσει και φρονήσει παρα της αλλης διενεγκοντα, υπο αδελφων επιβουλευθησαι. Apud Euseb. Præ. Evang. l. 9. c. 23. Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 2. §. 1.

† Cujus excellens ingenium veriti fratres, clam interceptum peregrinis Mercatoribus vendiderunt. Just. l. 36. c. 2.

‡ Gen. xxxvii. 8.

|| Χρωμενος εν ακακωτοις ηδеси, και την οικουσαν εχθραν εκ των αδελφων & συνιεις, οναρ ιδων αισιον ως δη ευνοις, διηγεται. Phil. de Joseph. p. 411. Edit. Colon.

from some superiour Impression, and were so considered by the good old Patriarch, who is said to * *have observed the saying*. And indeed as Dreams, in those early Ages of the World made great Impressions on Mens Minds, 'twas not to be wondered at, either that *Jacob* should remark them, or that *Joseph* should relate them. I believe any Lad of his Age would have done the same, that had never entertained the least Imagination of being ever advanced above his Father and Brethren, nor given any Proofs of a boundless Ambition, and thirst of Wealth. And considering the Character of *Jacob's* other Sons, 'twas nothing strange, that their Hatred of him, because of their Father's Fondness for him, should be encreased by this Accident, or that they should resolve on the first Opportunity to get rid of him, to prevent his Dreams from ever being accomplished. And this they did, of which our Philosopher gives this Account.

S E C T. II.

Of Potiphar.

AN Hebrew Slave named Joseph, having been sold into Egypt, was there bought, and taken into the Family of Potiphar, Pharaoh's chief Steward; and it may be proper to remark, that this Potiphar, Pharaoh's chief Steward, was

* Gen. xxxvii. 11.

an Eunuch; but what an Eunuch should do with a Wife, or supposing he had one, how she should defile his Bed, or prove false to him, is hard to conceive.

1. * *An Hebrew Slave named Joseph, having been sold into Egypt, was there bought, and taken into the Family of Potiphar, Pharaoh's chief Steward. Would any one imagine by the Terms, Hebrew Slave, that Joseph was cruelly sold by his Brethren, contrary to all Reason and Justice, to the Midianites? But 'twas a reproachful Circumstance, and therefore best suited the Philosopher's Purpose. However 'tis certain he was sold as a Slave, first by his Brethren to the Midianites, and by them to Potiphar in Egypt; whom our Author hath learnedly found out to be Pharaoh's chief Steward, which is a Discovery, I think, hitherto unknown. The Original Words סר טבה'ים are I confess differently rendred by Translators, but none of them have found out my Lord Steward in it. The LXX and Philo have αρχιμαγειρω, Chief of the Cooks, and † Josephus, Ανιρ επι των Φαραωδς μαγειρων, who plainly follows the LXX. But Chief of the Cooks and chief Steward are very different Offices. Onkelos, the Syriack and Arabick Versions, and the Latin render them by Captain ‡ of the Soldiers or Guards, agreeable to our own*

* Page 6. † Antiq. l. 2. c. 4. Init.

‡ Vendiderunt Joseph in Ægypto, Phutiphar eunucho, Pharonis Archimagiro. In plerisque locis Archimagiros, i. e. coquorum principes pro magistris exercitus, Scriptura commemorat. Μαγειρευειν quippe Græc. interpretatur occidere. Venditus est igitur

Version. And I think this must be the true Rend'ring. For thus *Nebuzaradan* was employed by *Nebuchadrezzar* King of *Babylon*, in burning the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, and destroying the Walls, and carrying away the People Captives, who is expressely called twenty Times in *Chronicles* and *Jeremiah* by this very Name that is given to our *Potiphar*. And so also was * *Arioch*, whom *Nebuchadrezzar* sent to destroy the Wise Men of *Babylon*; very odd Employments these for Cooks and Stewards. In like Manner this same *Steward Potiphar* was, as our Author tells us † *Governor*, or Head-Keeper of the King's Prison, and the State Prisoners; an Employment suitable enough to a Soldier or Captain of the Guards: But how he could be Steward too, I do not very well apprehend, unless the Philosopher thinks that Cook and Steward, and Jaylor were all one Office, or at least all united in the Person of *Potiphar*. He is a Man of great Reading, or as he says of himself, ‡ hath a pretty fair Character in the World for Learning, and may have some

tur Joseph principi exercitus & bellatorum. Hieron. Quæst. Heb. in Gen. But the learned *Hottinger's* Remark is more to the Purpose, as *Potiphar* was an Egyptian Officer. He derives the Word from the *Æthiopic*. **יֵשׁ הַטְּבָחִים**, Præfectus fatellitum. Volunt sic dictam, quasi mactatorem hominum, quod in fontes animadvertere soleat. In lingua *Æthiopica* **טַבַּחַת** est gladius. **טַבַּחַת**, gladius. Hinc **טַבַּחִים** quasi gladiati. Smeg. Orient. p. 85. 86. Vid. etiam Johan. Cleric. in Gen. c. 37. v. ult.

* Dan. ii. 14.
Phil. p. 29.

† Page 7.

‡ Defence of the Mor.

curious

curious *Anecdotes* by him, to elucidate and clear up this Affair. He adds :

2. * *Here also it may be proper to remark, that this Potiphar, Pharaoh's chief Steward, was an Eunuch, but what an Eunuch should do with a Wife is hard to conceive. True. But if Steward Potiphar was an Eunuch, and advanced to this Office, because it was the Custom of the Egyptian Court at this Time to employ Eunuchs in the chief Posts, then it must have been as well known that Potiphar was an Eunuch, as that he was Steward ; and upon this Supposition, hard as it is to conceive what an Eunuch should have to do with a Wife, 'twill be in my Judgment full as hard to conceive, what a Woman should have to do with a Creature that she knew to be an Eunuch, and how Potiphar should persuade any Woman to marry him. And yet certainly Potiphar was married. But if it was not known that Potiphar was an Eunuch, nor the Custom to employ Eunuchs so early as Joseph's Times in State Offices, then Potiphar may still pass for a sound Man, unless our Philosopher will affirm that he was present at his Birth, or Cutting, and upon his own Knowledge can assure us of this Natural, or Artificial Defect. Besides, tho' Chamberlains and Keepers of Seraglio's, and the like Officers were frequently real Eunuchs in the Eastern Courts, both for Decency and Safety, yet I cannot conceive why Eunuchs should be employed as Cooks and Stew-*

ards ; and much less that *Potiphar* must be one, if he was an Officer in the Army, a Captain of the Guards, or Head Keeper of the Royal Prisons : *Eunuchism* being a Qualification by no Means necessary for such an Employment.

'Tis true the Word סרס doth frequently in the sacred Writings signify a *proper Eunuch*, and is rendred in this Place by the LXX, *απαδοντι*, and by the Latin *Eunuchus*, and by a Word of like Signification in some of the Oriental Versions. On the Contrary, *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* render it רבא, *Great Man*, or Prince, and the Jerusalem Targum, שרטה, *Prince*, or *Lord*. And 'tis certain the Word is frequently used in the sacred Writings, where there are no Circumstances to prove that a *proper Eunuch* is intended. Thus we * read of a סרס who was *set over the Men of War in the City of Jerusalem*. They are also joyned with *the mighty Men and valiant Men* in the Assembly called by † *David*. They are reckoned with the Princes and Priests of the Land by ‡ *Jeremiah*, who expressly calls *the Princes of Judah and Jerusalem* by the Name סרס, ill rendred by our Translators, *Eunuchs* ; and which can mean nothing but *Officers of State*, or *the Army*, unless we are to suppose that all the Princes of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were proper Eunuchs, and therefore is translated here by the LXX, *τῶν δυναστῶν*, *Princes*. The Case of *Potiphar*, who certainly had a Wife, evidently proves that the Word is used in a more

* 2. Kin. xxv. 19. † 1. Chron. xxviii. 1.

‡ Jer. xxxiv. 19.

general Sense, to denote an Officer of State, without including the particular Circumstance of *Eunuchism*. Even the Greek Word ευνυχος, *Eunuch*, doth not in its Original and primitive Sense signify a *castrated Person*, but † *Cubicularius*, *Custos lecti*, a *Chamberlain*; and because these Officers were in After-ages frequently *castrated*, hence it came by Degrees to be afterwards appropriated, to denote an *Eunuch*, or *castrated Person* only. In like manner סרם properly denotes one *castrated*; and because such Persons were often employed, as *Chamberlains*, and in other Offices, by Princes; hence it comes, by an easy Change, to denote an Officer of State in general, tho' the Person himself had never undergone this Kind of *Mutilation*. But *Potiphar* must be an *Eunuch* with our Philosopher, that he may have an Opportunity to reproach the *Jewish Historian*, who affirms he had a Wife.

S E C T. III.

Of Joseph's Prison, and his Behaviour during his Confinement.

JOSEPH having been thus sold into *Egypt*, and taken into *Potiphar's* Family, the next Thing that the Philosopher informs us of is, that * *he so far ingratiated himself with his Master, that he intrusted him with his whole Interest, and made him chief Manager and Director of all*

† Quasi qui ευνυχ εχουσι. i. e. lecti curam gerant. Vid. *Etymolog. Mag. & Scalig. Exercit.* 227.

* Page 6.

his

his Affairs. This is true, but not the whole Truth, as the Historian, out of whom he professes to take his account, relates it. For || *tho' Joseph found Grace in his Master's Sight, so that he made him Overseer over his House, and put all that he had into his Hand, yet this Prosperity of Joseph was, because the Lord was with him; and because his Master saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his Hand.* This was what ingratiated Joseph with his Master, because he evidently saw that a Blessing attended Joseph's Management of the Affairs he had intrusted him with. † *The Lord blessed the Egyptian's House for Joseph's Sake, and the Blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had, in the House and in the Field.* He found him by Experience a faithful and diligent Servant, and that he himself was a Gainer by the Confidence reposed in him.

But tho' Joseph was thus faithful to his Master, his Mistress was not equally so to her Husband. For she solicited Joseph to her Bed, and upon his Refusal to comply with her, she got him committed a close Prisoner, in the King's Prison, and as the Philosopher will have it, in Potiphar's own House; or, as he observes *, *under the Governour's Roof and Inspection*; to give some Colour to the base Insinuation he makes, that during this Confinement, Joseph might make up the Matter with his old Mi-

|| Gen. xxxix. 3, 4.

† Ibid. 5.

* Page 9.

stress. I presume the Philosopher, in order to make poor *Potiphar* some Amends for representing him as an *Eunuch*, hath chosen thus to heap Preferments on him, and to unite the Posts of *Chief Steward* and *Head Jaylor* in his Person; for if the Jayl was *Potiphar's* own House, to be sure he was the Head-Keeper or Master of it, and the Philosopher expressly calls him *the Governour* ||. But how doth the Philosopher prove that the King's Prison was *Potiphar's* own House? Why thus. *Joseph* was imprisoned in the House of *the Captain of the Guards* †. But *Potiphar* was *Captain of the Guards* **. Therefore *Joseph* was imprisoned in *Potiphar's* House. And who can desire a better Demonstration? But let us see if 'twill hold. The Historian says, that *Joseph's* Master [*Potiphar*] took him, and put him into the Prison, a Place where the King's Prisoners were bound †. This Way of Expression seems to intimate very plainly, that 'twas a different Place from *Potiphar's* House *. When he was in this Prison, the Lord was with *Joseph*, and gave him Favour in the Sight of *שר בית הסהר* the Chief, or Ruler of the House of the Prison; or as the Philosopher expresses it, the Keeper or Master of the Prison. In the same Sense therefore that *Potiphar* was *שר הטבחים* Chief, or Ruler, or Captain of the Stewards or Guards, *Joseph's* Jaylor was *שר הסהר* Chief, or Ruler or Governor of

|| Page 7. † Gen. xxxix. 20. ** Ib. xli. 10. † Ib. xxxix. 20. * Ver. 21.

the Prison-House. If then the Prison was *Potiphar's* own House, 'tis plain, that tho' he might be Captain or Master of the Cooks or Stewards, yet that he was not Master or Governor of his own House; at least, of that Part of it that was the Prison. And that therefore, if *Joseph* was in *Potiphar's* own House, and under his Roof, yet that he was not under his Inspection; for as he was in Custody of the שר בית or Governour of the Prison House, who is expressly declared to be different from *Potiphar*, any Man but a Philosopher would imagine him to be under the Inspection of this Governour, and not of *Potiphar*.

Besides, not to mention the Absurdity of my Lord Steward's living in an House that was a Jail; 'tis extremely odd that this Chief Steward and Chief Jaylor should have but one House between them; and especially, that the Jaylor should be שר בית Chief Lord or Governor of this House, and of the Prisoners under *Potiphar's* own Roof, as he is expressly said to be. But what quite spoils this Demonstration is, that this very Chief Jaylor was a שר הטבחים Governor of the Cooks, or Captain of the Guards, or in the learned Philosopher's Stile, Chief Steward, as well as *Potiphar*. For 'tis expressly said *, that *Pharaoh* put his Chief Butler and Baker in ward in the House of the שר הטבחים Captain of the Guards, into the Prison, the Place where *Joseph* was bound, and that this שר הטבחים Cap-

* Gen. xl. 3, 4.

tain of the Guards charged Joseph with them ; agreeable to what is before said † of this very Keeper of the Prison, that he committed to Joseph's Hand all the Prisoners that were in the Prison. So that this Captain of the Guard, and Keeper of the Prison, was the self-same Person, and is expressly distinguished from Potiphar ‡, because, when Potiphar put him into the Prison, 'tis said the Lord gave him Favour in the Sight of the Keeper of the Prison, who therefore must be different from Potiphar, unless the Philosopher will suppose, that he had Favour in the Sight of a Man, whose Wrath was kindled against him ; and therefore Joseph might be, and was in the Prison of one of the Captains of the Guard, and yet not in the House, and under the Roof and Inspection of Potiphar. So that the Philosopher's two parallel Places prove nothing but his want of Care and Judgment : But he may be forgiven, for his great Sin is not over Impartiality or Exactness, nor will any suspect that his much Learning hath made him mad. I may add, that as Joseph was imprisoned by his Master in very great Wrath, upon a Supposition that he intended to debauch his Wife, whose * Feet they hurt with Fetters, he was laid in Iron ; 'tis not likely, that if the Prison had been Potiphar's own House, and under his own Roof and Inspection, he would have permitted him to be treated in that favourable Manner as we find he was, or made Sub-Governour in it, as the Philosopher once and again stiles him.

† Gen. xxxix. 22.

‡ Ib. 20, 21.

* Ps. cv. 18.

And tho' he hath quite confounded the Story, sometimes making *Potiphar* Governour, and yet supposing another Master or Keeper distinct from *Potiphar*, according to his usual critical Exactness; yet the Account of the *Hebrew* Historian evidently supposes *Potiphar's* House and the State-Prison to be two different Places, and *Potiphar* and the Keeper of the Prison two quite different Persons; and this Keeper of the Prison to have the intire Inspection and Jurisdiction over the Prisoners; and that by virtue of his sole Authority, he committed to *Joseph's* Hand all his Prisoners, and that for the very same Reasons for which *Potiphar* himself first made him Overseer over his own House, viz. *Because the Lord was with him, and that which he did the Lord made it to prosper* ||.

From hence I would observe, that what the Philosopher farther affirms cannot be true †. *Here, says he, in the Governour's [Potiphar's] own House, or under his Roof and Inspection, Joseph had the same Command and Authority over the Prisoners, as he had been intrusted with before, in the House and Family at large.* There is no one Circumstance to support this Assertion, for the contrary appears, that he was not in *Potiphar's* House, nor under his Inspection. But what is more material, it sufficiently obviates and absolutely destroys that *base-born, infamous Insinuation* †, that during this Confinement in the *King's Prison, Joseph had made up the Matter*

with his old Mistress. For if *Potiphar's House* and the Prison were different Places, how came the Reconciliation to be made? What, did my *Lord Steward's Lady* visit *Joseph* in his Pit? Or did they hold a Correspondence by *Letters*? Or had they their Appointments and Assignations at a third Place? And could all these Things be carried on and manag'd without the Steward or the Jaylour's Knowledge. My Philosopher hath a *fertile Brain* and a large Invention, and I would fain have him explain the Manner of this *curious Correspondence*, and write the *new and entertaining History* of *Joseph's Amour with the Lady of my Lord Steward of Pharaoh King of Egypt*. I am sure let him write what he will upon the Subject, 'twill be as good and true and authentick History, as most that he hath written of the Jewish Patriarchs and People.

However * *during this Imprisonment*, *Joseph wrought himself as much into the Favour of the Keeper or Master of the Prison, as he had before in the Family at large; for the Keeper of the Prison committed the whole Charge of all the Prisoners to Joseph, without taking any farther Care or Cognizance of them himself.* *Joseph's Behaviour* in his Confinement, and probably the Jaylour's being perswaded of his Innocence, might first occasion him the friendly Treatment of his Keeper. *Joseph's Character* was quite different from those of common Prisoners. He *feared God*, he was of great Modesty and Cha-

* Page 7.

stity, and by his whole Behaviour appears to be a Person of excellent Abilities and distinguish'd Sense: Qualifications, that must necessarily form him into a quite different Conduct from that of ordinary Prisoners, and could not but make him taken notice of by his Keeper, if he was a Person of any Observation and Humanity. And if *Joseph* wrought himself into the Keeper's Favour by these Methods, 'tis to his Commendation and Honour. I defy this Philosopher to give any Shadow of Proof that it was by any other Means.

He indeed with his usual Piety and Candour tells us, that * *this young Hebrew Politician had always Fortune on his Side*, that he was the Favourite of Fortune, and that † *he providentially succeeded as a bold Adventurer for Wealth and Dominion*: Doth the Philosopher think that Providence and Fortune are *synonymous* Terms? If not, then if he succeeded by Fortune, 'twas not by the Providence of God; if by Providence, not by Fortune; and to succeed *providentially by a Man's own good Fortune*, is a Mystery in Divinity, for which the World is obliged to this judicious Philosopher. The Historian tells us, 'twas by the Providence of God; that ‡ *the Lord was with Joseph, and shewed him Mercy, and gave him Favour in the Sight of the Keeper of the Prison*, and the Philosopher will be hard put to it to prove, that the various Turns of *Joseph's* Condition were intirely owing to Chance

and Fortune, without any thing of the Interpos-
al and Conduct of Providence.

There is not one Circumstance hitherto in *Joseph's* Case, that in the least argues him to be an *Adventurer* either for Wealth or Dominion, as this Writer reproachfully calls him. An *Adventurer* is a bold Projector, that lays Schemes and runs Ventures and Hazards for Wealth and Power. What, did *Joseph* sell himself, or persuade his Brethren to sell him to the *Ismaelites*, and then influence them to sell him to *Potiphar*, in order to make trial of his Fortune in *Egypt*? Did he lay the Scheme of his Mistresses accusing him, and project his own Imprisonment? What an *Adventurer* this for Power, first to lay Projects for being enslaved, and then to become a Prisoner, in hopes of rising to become *Sub-governour* of his Jayl! *Joseph* was the first and last of his Kind, that ever thus adventured for his future Advancement.

The Philosopher indeed speaks in high Terms of this Post of under Jayl-keeper, and tells us, that during his being in this Office, * *he gratified his Ambition and thirst of Power, so far as that Station could afford.* 'Twas unquestionably a prodigious Gratification to a Man of an aspiring, ambitious, covetous Temper, to a bold *Adventurer for Wealth and Dominion*, to be kept in a Jayl himself for many Years together, as a Servant to the Governour, and as *Turnkey* to the whole Herd of *Jaylbirds* that was under his In-

* Page. 8.

spection. This the Philosopher, in the *Buskin Stile* calls, * *the Great Power and Trust there committed to him*. One would really imagine by this, that he was intrusted with the absolute Power of Life and Death over them, and that he was now in a Post of high Honour, and extensive Dominion and Authority, and had a Liberty of doing whatsoever he pleased with his Prisoners, without being accountable to the head Governour: And that he had this Liberty the Philosopher insinuates, when he tells us, † *that the Keeper of the Prison committed the whole Charge of all the Prisoners to Joseph, without taking any farther Care or Cognizance of them himself*; citing for Proof those Words of the Historian: ‡ *The Keeper of the Prison looked not to any thing that was under his Hand*. But he should have understood *the Original* before he pretended to write of the *Hebrew History*; for the Historian only says, that the Keeper of the Prison did not inspect *את כל מאותו*, *every thing particularly that was in Joseph's Hand*; not, that he inspected nothing, and took no farther Care of any thing relating to the Jail. That the Keeper did inspect, and make proper Observations on *Joseph's Conduct*, is evident from the very Reason assigned why he did not more particularly concern himself in this Affair: *Because the Lord was with him, and that which he [Joseph] did, the Lord made it prosper*. So that the Governour, tho' he did not inquire into every par-

* Page 9. † Page 7. ‡ Gen. xxxix. 23.

ticular Transaction of *Joseph* in reference to his Charge, yet took such Notice as to see every thing was managed with Regularity, and succeeded as his own Heart could wish. And I should imagine; that this is as much as is ever done by the head Governours of Royal Prisons, and indeed as much as can reasonably be expected from them.

S E C T. IV.

Of Joseph's Deliverance from his Imprisonment.

After * *Joseph had been for some considerable Time in the King's Prison, and there in our Philosopher's pompous Stile, gratified his Ambition and Thirst of Power, so far as that Station could afford, there happened an Incident which contributed to his farther Advancement, and raised him to a Degree of Wealth and Power in Egypt, beyond what his Imagination could ever have suggested, or his utmost Ambition aimed at :* And yet but in the foregoing Page, † *his Ambition was boundless.* So that *Joseph's boundless Ambition* had its *Bounds*, and he was exalted beyond the utmost Bounds of his boundless Ambition. This is *the marvelous* Kind of Writing, and suits as well a *Romance* as an History. This Incident was the Imprisonment of *Pharaoh's Butler and Baker* in the same Prison as *Joseph* was, who therefore *could not be long unacquainted with*

* Page 8.

† Page 7.

them, and who, as the Philosopher assures us, *was a Man of too much Policy and Penetration not to make his own Use of it.* In this Prison he tells us, that those State Prisoners were * *under the Sub governour's Management*, and particularly that the Butler *was under the Hebrew Politician's Command.* But the Hebrew Historian says directly the Contrary. † *The Captain of the Guard charged Joseph with them, וְיִסְרָת אֲדָם, and he ministred to, or served them;* the Word is often used to denote *menial Services*, which a Servant performs to the Person of his Master, and must be so understood in this Place. And this shews, what that great Power and Trust was that was committed to Joseph in this Jayl, how high the Post of Honour that was here conferred on him, and what a prodigious Opportunity he had of gratifying his Ambition and Thirst of Power. Our Philosopher will have it, that he was *Sub-Governour.* But I will have it, that this is impossible. For in the first Place, Sub-Governours of Royal Prisons dont use to live in Pits and Dungeons. And yet this was Joseph's Habitation. Let him speak for himself. ‡ *Here also, says Joseph to the Butler, have I done nothing that they should put me וְיִסְרָת אֲדָם into this Pit, or Dungeon.* In the next Place, if we may be allowed to conjecture what his Office in the Jayl was, from the Orders he received with respect to these two Persons, it could be no higher than that of *Head Wardour or Turnkey*, who

* Page 9. 10. † Gen. xl. 4. ‡ Gen. xl. 15.

had the immediate Charge of the Prisoner's Persons, and was to take Care of them and provide for them during their Confinement. And tho' this was an high Favour for one imprisoned as a Slave and a Criminal, yet it doth not seem to be any great Gratification to a bold Adventurer for Wealth and Dominion, and I fancy our Philosopher would find but little Gratification of his own Ambition, should he at any Time receive the Honour and Happiness of such a Kind of Advancement.

* *After these State Prisoners had been some Time under the Sub-Governour's Custody, they both happened to dream a Dream in one Night, which Joseph interpreted, and the Event happened accordingly. I should have been extremely glad of some Philosophical Solution how it happened that they should both dream in one Night, and how Joseph happened to interpret these Dreams right, and especially how it happened that the Event so exactly verified his Solution. But here the Philosopher is quite mute, and his Learning, Invention and Philosophy can suggest nothing else, but that it so happened. But whence will he prove that it so happened, that Joseph † engaged the Butler under a solemn Oath or Promise, that as soon as he should be restored to his former Office and Favour with the King, he should mention and recommend him to Pharaoh. This the Philosopher asserts, and this I affirm to be a solemn Falshood, as to any one Intimation*

that can be found of it in the *Hebrew* Historian, or any one Proof that hath been offered by the Philosopher. *Joseph* only made a *bare Request* to him, and that with a Decency and Modesty to which the Philosopher is an utter Stranger. See Reader, if thou canst find any thing like an Engagement *under an Oath or Promise* in *Joseph's* Address to the Butler. * *Think on me when it shall be well with thee, and shew Kindness I pray thee unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this House.* † *For indeed I was stolen away out of the Land of the Hebrews; and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the Dungeon.* If I could imagine that this Writer had any Knowledge of *Languages*, of which he hath not given one single Ground of Suspicion in his Writings, I should think he refers to אֶתְּ in the fourteenth Verse, and supposes that *the Oath, or Promise* was concealed under those Particles. And that I may help him out a little, I will inform him that both of them are made use of in *Swearing*. But this Information will do him no good. For if there be any thing of an Oath couched in them, it was made not by the Butler, but by *Joseph*; and they signify, not that he made the Butler *solemnly swear or promise* to recommend him to *Pharaoh*, as the Philosopher says; but that *Joseph* himself earnestly besought, or even *adjured* the Butler to remember him in his Prosperity, and procure his Li-

* Gen. xl. 14.

† 15.

berty from *Pharaoh*. Nor will it be easy to produce out of all the Writings of Antiquity *a finer Passage*, than this before us. The Request is made in the strongest Manner, enforced with the tenderest Motives, urged with the greatest Modesty, and hath every Circumstance in it that could affect a generous, a grateful or compassionate Mind. *I conjure thee* think on me, *remember me* in thy Prosperity, who have shewn thee thy certain Restoration to thine Office and Honour, and *shew Kindness to me I beseech thee*, who have delivered thee from thine Anxiety by assuring thee of thy Liberty. *Make Mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this House*. Thou knowest the Miseries of this Confinement, and when enlarged thy self, *mention me to Pharaoh*, and procure for me my Liberty. I am in Reality no Slave, but *stolen away out of the Land of the Hebrews*, and even since I have been Captive in *Egypt* have I done nothing worthy, that they should put me into this *Dungeon*. One would imagine by the Philosopher's expressing it, that he obliged the Butler under an Oath to recommend him to some Place of Honour and Profit under *Pharaoh*; for says he, he *engaged him under a solemn Oath or Promise, that he should mention and recommend him to Pharaoh*. Recommend for what? If he means any thing more than the Procurement of his Liberty, 'tis false: For this was the only Favour that *Joseph* requested of him.

Well,

Well, * *this the Butler promised; but it afterwards slipt his Memory for two Years; for whatever Opinion this Courtier might have of Joseph, whilst he was in Prison, and under the Hebrew Politician's Command, it seems he had no such Regard to him, or Expectations from him, as to have set him much at Heart.* What Proofs Joseph had hitherto given of his being so consummate a Politician as my Philosopher represents him, no Man living can tell but he. I think his Politicks, if he had any, had thus far failed him. His Brethrens Politicks were evidently too hard for him, when they sold him as a Slave, to spoil his Dreaming. And our Philosopher seems to condemn his Politicks in *not consenting* to debauch his Master's Wife. For as he asserts *Potiphar* to be an *Eunuch*, he tells us, *'tis hard to conceive, supposing he had a Wife, how she could defile his Bed, or prove false to him;* and therefore 'tis as hard to conceive the Prudence of Joseph's Politicks, in refusing to gratify her, since according to the Philosopher he might have done it, without her doing any injury to her Lord and Husband. 'Tis not hard to conceive how our Philosopher would have acted had he been in Joseph's Case, and 'tis certain that their Morality and Politicks were very different. Joseph's Morality was : † *He refused, and said unto his Master's Wife : Behold my Master wot-teth not what is with me in the House, and he hath committed all that he hath to my Hand. There*

* Page 10.

† Gen. xxxix. 8. 9.

is none greater in this House than I: neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his Wife: How then can I do this great Wickedness and Sin against God? And his Politicks were; rather to incur the Danger of a disappointed, lustful, revengeful Woman's Rage, and go into Imprisonment and a Dungeon, than betray his Master, or injure his Wife; and to both these our young *Hebrew's* Politicks brought him, from which probably he could never have been delivered, but by that extraordinary Providence which at last enlarged him. And as *Joseph's* Politicks had hitherto failed him, so I can not conceive *what Expectations* 'twas possible for *Ppharaoh's* Butler to have from him. *Joseph* had now been eleven Years a Slave in a Foreign Country, and a considerable Part of this Time in Jayl, without ever having been conversant in Courts, without Property, Acquaintance, or Interest, or any single Advantage that could give him Influence, or render him serviceable to *Ppharaoh's* Butler; and therefore the Philosopher's Observation contains no such shrewd Discovery, viz. that * *the Butler had no such Regard to Joseph, or Expectations from him, as to have set him much at Heart.* True. But if *Joseph* had engaged him under a solemn Oath or promise to recommend him to *Ppharaoh*, then the Butler ungratefully and perfidiously forgot this Oath or Promise which he

ought to have remembered, whether he had any Expectations from him or not.

But * 'tis probable, says the Philosopher, *that this Butler having had an Acquaintance with Joseph before, and knowing the enterprising Genius, and vast Ambition of the Man, had resolved never to have mentioned him, or brought him to Court ; and that if he dreaded the Consequences of bringing such a Politician and ambitious Enterprizer to Court, and feared the Effects of his ingratiating himself with the King, the Event shewed, that he was not mistaken in the Man.* In the foregoing Page the Philosopher had observed, that what the Butler promised had *slipt his Memory for two Years*, herein agreeing with the Hebrew Historian, who tells us : † *Yet did not the chief Butler remember Joseph, but forgot him.* But that there may not be one Sentence of Truth in all his Account of Joseph, he immediately retracts it, and tells us, *'tis probable that the Butler had resolved never to mention him, and that his never once thinking of the Hebrew, or his Promise to him, from that Time to this, is hardly credible.* So that he chooses to make the Butler a deliberate, determin'd, perjur'd, perfidious Wretch, than candidly ascribe the Failure of Performance to Forgetfulness ; and palpably to forget himself in a few Lines, rather than keep to the Account of the Historian before him. The Reason he assigns for this perjured Perfidy hath as little Foundation as the Charge itself. Joseph's *enterprising*

Genius, his vast Ambition, his being such a Politician, and ambitious Enterpriser, his own Dread of bringing him to Court, and his Fear of Joseph's ingratiating himself with the King. For what Room for Enterprising, Ambition, and Politicks in a Slave in a Jayl? What Apprehensions of his ever coming to Court, or Connection between that and being delivered from Imprisonment? What apparent Possibility of his ever *ingratiating* himself, or becoming a Favourite with the King? What Fear could the Butler entertain from so mean a Person's Liberty as *Joseph's*? One would really imagine the Philosopher to be *dreaming* and not writing; or that he was present in the Jayl with these two Prisoners, and had been Witness to *Joseph's* Schemes and Projects; for of all these Things there is not one Word in the Sacred History, nor so much as the most distant Insinuation.

Having thus falsely fixed the Charge of wilfull Perfidy and Perjury on the poor Butler, he immediately brings him in as Apologising for this his Fault before *Pharaoh*. * *However to excuse himself, and make the best of the Matter, he now laid the Blame on his own Memory, and pretended that he had never once thought of the Hebrew, or his Promise to him, from that Time to this, which is hardly credible.* The Philosopher is as particular in this Apology as tho' the Historian had related it, or as tho' he himself had actually stood by and heard it. But can the Reader imagine

that the Whole of it is *Invention*, coined out of his own Brain, without the least Authority in the World to support it? Where doth he find this Pretence of the Butler, *that he never once thought of the Hebrew, or his Promise to him, from that Time to this?* Or his excusing himself, by laying the Blame on his Memory? He doth indeed say to *Pharaoh*: *I do remember my Faults this Day.* What Faults? What his forgetting his Oath and Promise to *Joseph*? Ridiculous. What Need of an Apology for this to *Pharaoh*, when he knew no more of *Joseph*, than he did of this Philosopher. The Butler himself best explains his own Meaning. * *I do remember my Faults this Day. Pharaoh was wroth with his Servant, and put me in Ward in the Captain of the Guards House, both me and the chief Baker.* Nor was it well possible for him, with any Decency or Propriety, to introduce what passed between them and *Joseph* in the Prison, without some such Mention of his Offences, which *Pharaoh* had graciously forgiven according to *Joseph's* Interpretation. The Butler's *Faults* therefore, which he remembred, were those he had committed against *Pharaoh*; and not those which he had been guilty of against *Joseph*, in his forgetting his Oath and Promise to him, which the Philosopher tells us, *'tis hardly credible he did.* And yet in the very Beginning of this † Page, he gives this as the Reason to shew the Probability why his Oath or Promise might have slipt his

* Gen. xli. 9. 10.

† Page 10.

Memory for two Years ; *for*, says he, *whatever Opinion this Courtier might have of Joseph, whilst he was in Prison, and under the Hebrew Politicians Command, it seems he had no such Regard to him, or Apprehensions from him, as to have set him much at Heart.* Whence then is it incredible, that he should *never think* of the Hebrew or his Promise to him, when it seems he had *no Expectations from him, nor set him much at Heart ?* Or where is the Improbability, that a Courtier, restored to a Station of high Honour, and Credit, with his Prince, should forget his Promise to a foreign Slave, that he had little or no Regard to, or Opinion of? But the Philosopher is constant to himself, and his good Manners, Candour and Charity are shining Virtues. And as he before makes the Butler guilty of a sober, *intentional Perfidy and Perjury*, so here he introduces him, as Apologising for himself before the King of Egypt, with a studied and *deliberate Lye* ; and that contrary to the Faith of the History, which he declares he will *all along take for his Guide*, which expressly says : * *Yet did not the chief Butler remember Joseph but forgot him.*

* Gen. xl. 13.

S E C T. V.

Of Joseph's Advancement.

ALtho' the Butler, as is too frequent with Persons in Prosperity, forgot his Fellow Prisoner, who had foretold him his Liberty and Restoration, yet *Pharaoh's* Dreams brought *Joseph* to his Remembrance, and the Account he gave of him introduced him into the King's Presence, and abundantly demonstrates that this Butler had an high Opinion of his Sagacity and Wisdom, and secretly hoped, that he might be able to do for *Pharaoh*, what all his Magicians and Wise men could not, *viz.* interpret his Dreams; otherwise he would never have mentioned him to the King, nor put it into his Thoughts to have sent for him. 'Tis probable that this Incident recalled to his Mind his Obligations to *Joseph*, and that Gratitude to him, as well as Zeal to serve his Prince, made him now mention him. But I think one thing may be certainly concluded from hence, *viz.* that the Butler had no such Dread of *Joseph's* Politicks, Enterprises and Ambition, as the Philosopher suggests; for if he had, no Considerations would, I believe, have prevailed with him to have spoken of him to the King with so much Honour, and in such a Juncture of Affairs, as must necessarily occasion his being brought to Court, and procure him *Pharaoh's* Favours, if,

as the Butler apprehended, he should find out the Solution of his Dream. And the Matter happened accordingly, for having interpreted the Dreams, the Consequence was, his being set over all the Land of *Egypt*, which the Philosopher thus *learnedly* represents.

* *And now the Hebrew Prophet and Politician had at once the whole Power, Force and Direction of the Kingdom put into his Hands.* And again: *Here it is evident, that Pharaoh had divested himself of all Regal Authority, and retained only the Name and Title of King; for he had put the whole Force of the Kingdom, and the Nomination of all Offices and Places of Profit, Power and Trust, into Joseph's Hand; and now the whole Land was in the Power and at the full Disposal of an Hebrew Stranger, who a few Years before, had been sold into the Country as a Slave.* And again: † *Joseph thus made himself Master of Egypt.* And again: ‡ *We have seen Joseph secured in the whole Management of the Government, and put into Possession of the whole military Force of the Kingdom.* And to prove this, he cites several Passages from the *Hebrew Historian*. || *Thou shalt, says Pharaoh, be over my House, and according unto thy Word shall all my People be ruled; the Philosopher more learnedly; at thy Word shall all my People be armed. Only on the Throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph: Be-*

* Page 12.

‡ Page 17.

† Page 14.

|| Gen. xli. 41. &c.

bold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt----
And Pharaoh said unto Joseph : I am Pharaoh :
And without thee shall no Man lift up his Hand
or Foot in all the Land of Egypt. From these
 Passages our Philosopher draws the following
 Inferences.

1. That *Pharaoh* had divested himself of all
 Regal Authority, and retained only the Name
 and Title of King.

2. That he put the whole Military Force of
 the Kingdom into his Hand.

3. That he had given him the Nomination
 of all Offices and Places of Profit, Power and
 Trust, and that the whole Land was in his
 Power, and at his full Disposal.

1. He tells us, * *'tis evident, that Pharaoh*
had divested himself of all Regal Authority, and re-
tained only the Name and Title of King. But
 whence is this so extreamly evident? Had he
 been a Man of any Reading or Learning, I
 should have imagined he had taken this Obser-
 vation from † *Philo*, who says, “ that *Pha-*
raoh appointed him *Viceroy*, or rather, to
 “ speak the Truth, *King*; leaving to himself
 “ the Name of Empire, but in Reality yielding
 “ the Government to him, and doing whatever
 “ he could in Honour to the young Man.”
 But *Philo's* Encomiums are often stretched, and

* Page 12.

† εἰτ' αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας καθίστησι διαδόχον, μάλλον δ' εἰ
 χρητ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν. βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπολείπο-
 μένος αὐτῷ, τῆς δ' ἐν ἐργοῖς ἡγεμονίας ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τ' ἄλλα
 πρᾶττων, ὅσα ἐπὶ τιμῇ τε νεανίᾳ. *Phil. de Joseph. p.*

his

his Accounts enlarged beyond the Truth by a warm Imagination, as every one knows who is acquainted with that Author. I think the contrary to this is clearly evident, both from *Pharaoh's* Words and Actions, and from the Nature of the Thing. *Pharaoh* expressly says: *Only on the Throne will I be greater than thou*: Or as 'tis in the Original Hebrew, רק הכסא, only as to the Throne, i. e., as the Word * frequently signifies, the Royal Authority, Power, and Majesty, the Exercise of all properly regal Acts, *I will be greater than thou*. I retain my Royal, my Supream Power and Dignity. Here I admit of no Sharer, Again: *Pharaoh made him to ride in the second Chariot that he had*, reserving to himself the State and Dignity of a King, and the proper Ensigns of Majesty, as well as the Name and Title of King. And accordingly the People of *Egypt*, several Years after this Commission to *Joseph*, looked on *Pharaoh* as really and not only nominally King. For when the Land of *Egypt* was famished, the People cried to *Pharaoh* for Bread, and 'twas *Pharaoh's* Order: † Go unto *Joseph*. What he saith to you do? It was *Pharaoh's* Command, that *Joseph* should send into *Canaan* for his Father and his Household, and provide Carriages to bring them into the Land of *Egypt*. ‡ Now thou art commanded, this do ye. And *Joseph* gave them Waggons according to the Commandment of *Pharaoh*. Their

* See Psalm 89. 29. 36—94. 20.
xlvi. 31, &c.

† Gen. xlv. 19.

‡ Gen. xli. 55.

Maintenance in *Egypt* was *Pharaoh's* Generosity and Grant. * *I will give you the Good of the Land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the Fat of the Land——* Regard not your Stuff, for the Good of all the Land of *Egypt* is yours. *Joseph's* Acquainting *Pharaoh* with the coming of his Father and Brethren, the Caution he advised them to use at their first Appearance before him, and the Ceremony of presenting them in the Royal Presence, to know the Pleasure of the King concerning them, plainly intimates *Pharaoh's* superior State and Authority. The Settlement of *Jacob* and his Family in the Land of *Goshen* was by *Pharaoh's* special Permission and Order. † *The Land of Egypt is before thee. In the best of the Land make thy Father and Brethren to dwell, in the Land of Goshen let them dwell. And Joseph placed his Father and his Brethren and gave them a Possession in the Land of Egypt as Pharaoh had commanded.* When *Joseph* had gathered up the Money that was found in *Egypt* and in *Canaan*, for the Corn which they bought, he acknowledged himself accountable to *Pharaoh* for it as his Lord and King, and accordingly brought it into his Treasury. ‡ *Joseph brought the Money into Pharaoh's House.* It was *Pharaoh*, and not *Joseph*, that excepted the Lands of the Priests or Princes from the common Sale, and fed them during the Famine from the Publick Stores. *Only the Land of the Priests, or Princes, bought he [Joseph] not; for the Priests*

* v. 18. 20. † Gen. xlvii. 6. 11. ‡ xlvii. 14.

or Princes *had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh: Wherefore they sold not their Lands.* When *Joseph* took the Resignation that the People made of themselves and their Lands, he tells them: * *Behold I have bought you this Day and your Land for Pharaoh; and their Acknowledgment was: † Thou hast saved our Lives, and we will be Pharaoh's Servants; a Demonstration, that how much soever they knew themselves beholden to Joseph's Care, they knew as well that the Sovereignty remained in Pharaoh.* When *Joseph* had resolved to attend his Father's Funeral into *Canaan*, he spoke unto the House of *Pharaoh*, saying: ‡ *If now I have found Grace in your Eyes, speak I pray you in the Ears of Pharaoh, saying — Let me go up I pray thee, and bury my Father, and I will come again. And Pharaoh said: Go up and bury thy Father: But if Joseph had been possessed of all the Power of Egypt, and Pharaoh had been no more than a nominal King, would Joseph have applied to the House of Pharaoh, or wanted their Intercession to obtain a Grant, for what he could have forced Pharaoh and them to have allowed him? There is not indeed one single Instance in the whole History to prove, that Pharaoh divested himself of all, or any of the Regal Authority. The Supposition itself is monstrous, that a King should resign his Power into the Hands of his Minister, so as to become dependant on him; and Pharaoh's Reserve, Only as to the Throne will*

* Gen. xlvii. 23.

† v. 25.

‡ l. 4. &c.

I be greater than thou, is a Demonstration of the Falshood of it. *Joseph* doth indeed seem to have been constituted Superintendant, as to the Affair of gathering in the Corn, over the whole Kingdom ; and was the head Officer over *Pharaoh's* Household. *Thou shalt be over my House, and according unto thy Word shall all my People be ruled*, i. e. the People of *my Household*, the * Word $\square y$ being frequently restrained to a small Number of Persons. But the supream Power was still in *Pharaoh* ; and as all Princes must act by their Ministers, *Pharaoh's* acting by *Joseph* in this Instance, was not divesting himself of any Regal Authority, and retaining only the Name of King, but retaining the Regal Authority and Power with the Name ; whilst *Joseph* was only Manager for and under *Pharaoh*, to whom he was in all Things accountable, and without whose special Orders he doth not seem to have acted, either in the Settlement of his own Family, the Management of Affairs during the Famine, or in any considerable Transaction whatsoever.

2. The next Thing is, that *Pharaoh put the whole Force of his Kingdom into Joseph's Hand*. And in order to prove this, he hath discovered all his *critical Skill*, and given a *Sample* of his profound Knowledge in the Languages. For

* Porro vocis $\square y$ usus admodum liber est. Multitudinem notat, vel formatam, vel sine forma, armatam, inermem, imo epulantem, adeoque non magnam, ut Reg. iv. 41, 42, 43. Gussset. in voce $\square y$.

what in our Translation runs: *According unto thy Word shall all my People be ruled*: He renders: *And at thy Word shall all my People be armed*; having with great Acuteness and Depth of Learning observed in the Margin these Words: *Heb. be armed*: A bare Hint is enough for a great Genius to draw surprising Discoveries from; and accordingly on the Foundation of this *marginal Authority*, he positively affirms, as tho' it were a thing past all Dispute, that Pharaoh *put the whole military Force of his Kingdom into Joseph's Hands*.

Quantus, quantus, nihil nisi Sapientia est !

One would indeed have expected, that this Criticism should have been confirmed, and the Sense he hath affixed to the Word should have been supported by him by some parallel Place, or some proper Remark upon the Nature and Use of the Word. But here his Skill and Talents fail him. 'Tis enough for a Man *of such a Character* for learning to affirm. Let others prove, 'tis too great a Condescension in this Philosopher to attempt it.

However, with due Submission I conceive, that the Philosopher and his learned Author *the Margin*, are both of them mistaken, in affixing the Sense of *armed* to this Word. For there is not one single Place in the old Testament, in which פָּשַׁע , in the Form in which it stands in *Pharaoh's Order*, פָּשַׁע , is ever pretended to have the Signification of *arming*, and

but three Places where any Interpreters have taken it, in any Form, in this Sense; and in those three 'tis never used simply, but with the Addition of קשת *the Bow*. So that tho' in these three Places it should be allowed to be used in this *military Sense*, because of the Word joined with it, yet to affix the same Sense to it in the Place before us, where no such Word is annexed, is perfectly unreasonable, especially if any other proper Sense can be found to agree to it. Even the Learned *Gussetius*, tho' he affirms, that the Word is evidently used in the Sense of *Arming* in two of these Places, viz. 1 *Chron.* xii. 2. 2. *Chron.* xvii. 17. and that it particularly signifies *the military Habit*, rather than the Act of Fighting; and is inclined to affix the same Signification to the third Place, viz. *Psf.* lxxviii. 9. yet interprets this Passage in *Genesis*, not of *Arming*, but of *Kissing*.

The Judgment of this able Critick I pay a just Regard to, but yet cannot help differing from him, as to each of the three Places. The Words are in all of them נשקי קשת, which, if we render them, *armed with the Bow*, are plainly defective, and want the Prefix כ to compleat the Sense. Besides the Participle נשקי is *Benoni* in *Kal*, and can never be proved to have a *Passive Signification*; and if the Sense of *Arming* be here intended, the Rending must be, not, *armed with the Bow*, but *arming the Bow* and Shield, which I leave the Philosopher to make good Sense of at his leisure. Farther, neither

the LXX, nor *Vulgate*, nor any of the ancient Versions have rendred נשקי in any of the three Places by *armed*. *Pf.* lxxix. 9. 'tis rendred by the LXX, εντεινοντες τοξον. By the *Vulgate*, *intendentes Arcum*, and by the other Versions in a like Manner ; and as 'tis joined with רומי, *mittentes, jacentes*, throwing or shooting, it seems to determine the Sense, to that of *handling, stretching or bending* ; since the Bow must be first bent, before the Arrow can be shot out of it. נשק amongst the *Arabians* signifies, *Ordinavit, rem disposuit*, to order, and *rightly dispose* of any thing, and the Original *Hebrew* Word נשקי, may therefore accordingly signify *such as handle the Bow*. Or what I rather think, it retains the proper and usual Sense of *Kissing* ; it being impossible for any one to draw a Bow with full Strength of Arm, but he must kiss or touch his Face with the String of it. And therefore נשקי קשת, are Men, * *mighty Men, Helpers of the War*, that *kiss the Bow*, or who so bend or draw the String of it, as to touch, or kiss their Faces with it. And in this Sense of *Kissing*, or in one similar to it, the Word is invariably used in the Old Testament ; and is so unquestionably in the Place under Consideration. יעל פד ישק כל עמי, *and on thy Face, or, at thy Word shall all my People Kiss*.

In the *Eastern Nations*, the Kiss was a Token of Respect and Honour paid to great Persons by their Inferiors. † *Kiss the Son lest he*

* 1 Chron. xii. 2.

† *Pf.* ii. 12.

be angry. When *Samuel* had anointed *Saul* King of *Israel*, he kissed him as a Token of Homage, expressly declaring : * *Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be Captain over his Inheritance?* When *Moses* went out to meet his Father-in-Law, 'tis said † *he did Obeisance and kissed him.* And when *Judas* came to betray our blessed Saviour, ‡ 'twas with the Treachery of a Kiss, as tho' he came to shew his Affection, and do him Reverence. In like Manner when the || *Persians* met each other, the Compliment between them was a Kiss on the Mouth, if Equals ; and if one was a little inferiour to the other, he kissed the Cheek of his Superiour. Nor was this Custom of kissing in Token of Reverence wholly unknown to the Ancient *Greeks*. When ** *Eumæus* first saw *Telemachus* after his long Absence, he ran to meet him, and kissed his Head, both his Eyes, and his Hands.

*Transported from his Seat Eumæus sprung,
Dropt his full Bowl, and round his Bosom hung,
Kissing his Cheek, his Hand, while from his Eye
The Tears rain'd copious in a Show'r of Joy.* POPE.

* 1 Sam. x. 1.

† Exod. xviii. 7.

‡ Matt. xxvi. 49.

|| Οἱ συγγυχανόντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὀδοῖσι τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοῖν εἰσὶ οἱ ἐντυγχανόντες. Ἀντι γὰρ τὸ προταγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλεῖν τοῖσι ἱσχυμασι. Ἦν δὲ ἡ ἕτερος ὑποδεεσέρος ὀλιγῶ, τὰς παρείας φιλεῖνται. Herod. Cli. c. 134. Vid. Lucian. in Nigrin. p. 32.

** Κῦσσε δὲ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμρῳ φάσα καλά,
Χεῖρας τ' ἄμρῳτερας — Hom. Odyss. π. v. 15. 16.

And when after this the young Hero arrived at his Palace, * the Servants embraced him, and kissed his Head and his Shoulders; upon which Places *Eustathius* observes, the kissing the Head and Shoulders was the proper *Salute of a Servant* or Slave, but that kissing the Head and Eyes was proper to those who were related by Blood, or looked on as so related. Yea the Kiss implied more in Ancient times than more civil Adoration and Respect, and was a Token of Religious Worship and Homage: God tells *Elijah* he had † *seven Thousand in Israel, that had not bowed the knee to, nor kissed Baal*. And the Men of ‡ *Ephraim* said one to another, whilst they were sacrificing a Man: *Let them kiss the Calves*. And as the Kiss was thus a Token of of great Respect and Submission, || hence the Word comes to signify that very Submission and Obedience of which the Salute was the Evidence. And thus the Passage in Dispute is rendered by the LXX. *Επι τῷ σωματι σε υπακισσεται πᾶς ὁ λαός. My People shall obey thy Mouth or Command*. The Vulgate: *Ad tui oris imperium cunctus populus obediet*. In like Manner the ancient

* *Δμῶαι Ὀδυσσεὺς τᾱλασιφρονὸς ἠγέρεθοντο,*

Καὶ κυνέον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὤμους. Id. *Odyss.*

p. v. 34. 35.

Καὶ ἐστὶ δούλικον τὸ φιλήμα τῷ το. Πηνελόπεια δὲ ἐκύσε μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὤμῳ φάσα καλά. Καὶ Εὐμειὸς δὲ προταύτης ὁμοίως, ὡς οἱ αἱ ἀδελφοί. *Eustat.* in loc. p. 1811. l. 18. Vid. & eund. in *Odyss.* π. v. 15. 16. p. 1792. l. 28. &c. *Edit. Roman.* Vid. *Lipsii Elect. lib. 2. c. 6.*

† 1 King. xix. 18.

‡ Hos. xiii. 2.

|| *Hebræi, juxta linguæ suæ proprietatem, deosculatorem pro veneratione ponunt.* Hieron. advers. *Ruffin.* l. 1. p. 237.

Versions and *the Targum of Onkelos*. So that the true Meaning of the Place is: *And all my People shall be obedient to thy Word, or Command ; and thus Joseph himself explains it ! God hath made me Lord of all Pharaoh's House, and a Ruler throughout the Land of Egypt.*

That *Pharaoh* should put the whole Force of his Kingdom into a young Man's Hands, who was an intire Stranger to the Nation, wholly unexperienced in Military Affairs, and who had spent so many Years in a close Confinement in a Jayl, is the most incredible Supposition, and hath not one single Circumstance to render it so much as probable. The Truth is, that *Joseph* seems only to be advanced so far as to be Chief over *Pharaoh's* House, and the supream Director in the Affair of the Corn, throughout the whole Land of *Egypt* ; so that *no Man could lift up Hand or Foot*, i. e. in the least oppose him, or do any thing in these Affairs, but under *Joseph's* Direction, and without his Leave. And accordingly when *Joseph* went out from *Pharaoh*, *he went throughout all the Land of Egypt*, gathering up the Food, and treasuring it in the Cities ; and in the Years of Famine he distributed it out to the People, according to *Pharaoh's* express Command. Unquestionably this gave him great Authority throughout all the Country, and was a Station both of Honour and Influence ; and therefore *Joseph* speaking of himself to his Brethren, says: * *Goa hath made*

* Gen. lxx. 8.

*me a Father to Pharaoh, i. e. chief Director under Pharaoh of the Royal Household, or as the like Expression is explained in the Apocryphal Esther, * he was called our Father, and continually honoured of all Men, as the next Person unto the King; and constituted a Ruler throughout all the Land of Egypt; because he had Authority to take up the fifth Part of the Corn throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, which he could not have done, unless he had been vested with the Royal Authority. And agreeably † Josephus gives this very Account of the Patriarch's Advancement: " Pharaoh " admiring Joseph, both for his Interpretation " of the Dream, and the Advice he had given " him, committed to him the Management of " the Affair, as supposing that he who had advised the Method, would be the best Director of it. " And this is perfectly suitable to the Counsel given by Joseph himself to Pharaoh: ‡ Let Pharaoh provide a Man of Understanding and Wisdom, and set him over the Land of Egypt; viz. for the Purpose of taking up the fifth Part of the Land of Egypt in the seven plenteous Years; for to this was his Advice absolutely confined, nor can any candid Interpreter understand it otherwise.*

* Esther 16. 11.

* Φαραωνης δε αμφοτερων θαυμασας Ιωσηπον, της τε κρισεως τε νεηροτος και της συμβουλιας, αυτω την οικονομιαν παραδιδωσιν τον εξευροτα την τε πραγματας οδον και προσατην αριστην αυτης υπολαβων γενεσεθαι. Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. §. 3.

† Gen. 41. 33.

I think therefore I may upon the whole conclude, that the Philosopher's Assertion, that *Joseph* was put into Possession of the whole Military Force of the Kingdom, is a mere ungrounded Assertion of his own, improbable in its Nature, and that hath not one Circumstance in the Sacred History to support it. I would only mention farther on this Article, that in all the Account that the Sacred Historian gives us of *Joseph's* Advancement, there is not one single Word made Use of, that hath any proper and peculiar Relation to the Military Power. He is not once called שר or *Captain*. The highest Titles that are given him, are אדון *Lord*, משר *Governour*, Words of Respect, and that denote civil Power, and which are frequently applied to Persons, whose Authority is subordinate, and extremely limited and dependent; and which when given to *Joseph* carry not the least Intimation of any military Power conferred on him, much less of his being invested with the whole.

3. His third Observation on this Article is, that *Pharaoh* gave him the Nomination of all Offices and Places of Profit, Power and Trust; an Assertion, that like the rest of his Account, hath nothing but his own Imagination and Invention to support it. This is a Power that the *most arbitrary Prime Ministers* are not intrusted with, nor is there any one Expression, from whence it can be collected that *Joseph* had it. 'Twas a Power, that in his Circumstances, he could not possibly exercise, had it been conferred

on

on him ; for he was an utter Stranger in *Egypt*, and wholly unacquainted either with the Nobility or Priests. He had neither Friends nor Relations, who could ask Places for themselves, or direct him to proper Persons on whom to bestow them. His very Employment, as chief Director in laying up the Corn, was inconsistent with such a Trust; the Nature of the Office obliging him *yearly* to travail through the whole Country, to see that the Fifth was duly collected, and carefully deposited in the Granaries of the respective Cities of *Egypt*. Nor is there any one Instance that the Philosopher can produce, of any single Place of Profit or Trust bestowed by *Joseph*, during his whole Administration, on his Family, or any Person whatsoever. Yea the contrary appears, that he had not this Power vested in him. Above nine Years after his Advancement, towards the Beginning of the Famine, when his Interest must have been highest, he had not Power to raise his own Brethren to any considerable Posts, and it was *Pharaoh* who expressly commanded him, that if he * *knew any Man of Activity amongst them, that he should make them Rulers over his Cattle* : An evident Demonstration, that the Nomination to Offices of greater Dignity and Importance was reserved to *Pharaoh*, who nominated even his chief Herdsmen and Shepherds, and that *Joseph's* Power was extreamly limited, who thus needed *Pharaoh's* Leave and Commission to place his Brethren in

* Gen. lxvii. 6.

these inferiour Posts. Yea the very under Officers, that were appointed to collect and gather in the Corn, subject to *Joseph*, were of *Pharaoh's* Nomination. Thus *Joseph* advises. * *Provide a Man of Understanding and Wisdom, and set him over the Land of Egypt. Let Pharaoh appoint Officers over the Land, and take up the fifth Part of the Land of Egypt. And the thing was good in the Eyes of Pharaoh and all his Servants.* i. e. *Joseph's* advice was complied with; and indeed 'twas impossible *Joseph* himself could provide such Officers in the Cities of *Egypt*, being an absolute Stranger there, but under the Direction, and by the Advice of others. So that the Philosopher's whole Account of *Pharaoh's* unkinging himself, and putting all the civil and military Power into *Joseph's* Hands, is neither countenanced by the Hebrew Historian, nor probable in itself; and his Conclusion, that † *now the whole Land was in the Power and at the full Disposal of an Hebrew Stranger, who a few Years before had been sold into the Country as a Slave, and that his Commission was unlimited,* is without all Foundation.

I might observe, that though he here asserts that *Joseph* was sold into the Country as a Slave a few Years before, yet he elsewhere tells us, that *Joseph* must have ‡ *probably continued Sub-Governour of the King's Prison for some Course of Years: for when he was sold into Egypt, he*

* Gen. xli. 33, 34, 37.

† Page 12.

‡ Page 7.

was but an Youth, or a Lad, but when he was sent for to Court by Pharaoh, he was thirty Years old. The Philosopher may probably reconcile this, and make a *Course* of Years and a few Years just the same; for he can do many Things that no Man in the World can do besides himself. But whether a few, or a course of Years, I will inform him pretty exactly how many they were. For *Joseph* was about seventeen Years old when he was sold into *Egypt*, and thirty when he stood before *Pharaoh*. * So that these few Years were a *Course* of Years of about twelve or thirteen Years.

S E C T. VI.

Of Joseph's Conduct in his Ministry.

THE Philosopher tells us, that † *Joseph* having received this unlimited Commission, appointed his own Officers. And yet but two Pages before, this same Philosopher informs us, that under this *supream Inspector*, the King was to appoint Officers to gather in the Produce. So that the King appointed *Joseph's* Officers under him, and yet *Joseph* appointed them under himself without the King. This is in the *Marvellous Taste*. That the King appointed them is by far the more probable; for *Joseph's* Advice to *Pharaoh* was: Let ‡ *Pharaoh* appoint Officers over the Land; nor is it well possible that *Joseph* could do it himself, who was absolutely unacquainted with the Cities and Towns of *Egypt*,

* Gen. xxvii. 2. xli. 46. † Page 13. ‡ Gen. xli. 34.

and who were the properest Persons to entrust with such an Affair. And if it was possible, and he had actually appointed his own Officers, yet this would not have *put the Land of Egypt into his Power*; because as none of his own Family was then in *Egypt*, he could not constitute any of them his Officers, and therefore must have employed the *Egyptians* themselves, and such of them too; if he was a Man of common Prudence, as would be most acceptable to *Pharaoh*, his Court, and the *Egyptian* People. So that *Egypt* was still in the Power of the *Egyptians*, unless the Philosopher is of Opinion, that *Joseph* opened the Doors of the Jail, where he was before confined, and brought out the Prisoners, and constituted them his under Officers throughout all *Egypt*. For *Joseph* could have no great Number of Acquaintance there, besides these. And this is a Point which I will not dispute with him.

After this we are told, that * *Joseph settled Store-houses and Magazines for Corn in every City, and that 'tis evident that there was a Necessity to fortify and garison the Towns and Cities where the Corn was kept, and secured in the King's Magazines and Granaries: And that this perhaps is the first Instance of any such Fortresses and strong Holds, as it is the first Instance upon Record of any such absolute and arbitrary Power. The Perhaps here comes in extreamly seasonable, for the whole of all this hath nothing but*

* Page 13. 14.

the Philosopher's *perhaps* to support it. The same Reasons that originally engaged Mankind to build Cities, *viz.* their common Security, would lead them also in some Measure to guard and fortify them. A Philosopher, || as remarkable in his Time for Learning and good Sense as our Modern one can be, tells us, that in the early Ages after the Flood, when Men began to build larger Cities, they encompassed them round with Enclosures made of Thorns, or the Securities of Walls, to guard themselves from wild Beasts. Another and that no contemptible ||| Writer ascribes the Rise of Towers and Gates to the same Instinct implanted in Men by the common Creator, that led them to provide for their own and the common Safety ; and there is no Reason to imagine, that the *Egyptians*, who were always accounted a very wise People, would ever suffer their principal Cities to remain open and exposed to their Enemies ; such of them especially as needed to be well fortified and secured ; and 'tis stupid to imagine that the Fortification of Towns and Cities took its rise from Granaries and Magazines of Corn. The Philosopher I doubt not imagines this Conjecture *shrewdly hit of*, and that he hath made

|| περιβολας τε αιμασιωδεις τινας, τειχων ερυματα, των θηριων ενεκα, ποιουνται. Plat. de leg. l. 2. p. 681.

||| ——— Mundi

Principio indulsit communis conditor illis

Tantum animas; nobis animum quoque, mutatis ut nos

Adiectus petere auxilium & præstare juberet :

Communicare signa tuba, defendier iisdem,

Turribus, atque una portarum clave teneri. Juven. Sat. 15. v.

147 &c. Vid. & Horat. Sat. l. i. Sat. 3. v. 100, &c.

the first, *the very first* Discovery of the Original of this important Science. But we shall find that the very Reasons he assigns for now fortifying the Towns and Cities of *Egypt*, shew his utter want of all Reading, and unluckily confute themselves.

* *Without this Precaution*, says he, *it had been impossible to have prevented the Egyptians themselves, as well as other Nations, from seizing the Corn, under so general a Calamity and so severe a Famine.* As to other Nations seizing the Corn, this is an absurd Supposition, if what he says be true of the Cause of the Famine in *Egypt* lasting so long, viz. Joseph's † *first engrossing and monopolizing all the Corn, and giving out no more than was necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, but to let them have no Corn for Seed.* If this was true, the Famine could reach no farther than Joseph's Province and Power, and by consequence only to *Egypt*; and therefore the neighbouring Nations could be under no Temptation to come down to *Egypt* to seize on the *Egyptian* Corn, when they had no Scarcity of Corn amongst themselves, Joseph not being able to prevent their having Corn for Seed; and therefore the Fear of their thus seizing the Corn could never be a Reason for Joseph's fortifying and garisoning the Towns and Cities, because he could not possibly be in any Fear on this Account.

Besides *Egypt* was strongly fortified by Nature against the Invasion of a Foreign Enemy.

Thus *Isocrates* : * 'Tis furrounded by an immortal Wall, viz. the *Nile*, which not only naturally defends it, but bountifully supplies it ; that therefore 'tis not to be taken, nor easily conquered by those who would surprize it. *Diodorus Siculus* : † *Egypt* excells all other Kingdoms by the Pleasanness of the Country, and by being naturally secured and fortified, having on the West the Desarts of *Lybia*, on the South the Cataracts of the *Nile*, and the high Mountains of *Æthiopia* adjoyning to them, on the East being defended partly by the *Nile*, by Desarts, and the Lake *Sirbonis*, and on the North by the Sea, that hath no Ports or Havens for Ships. *In this manner is Egypt naturally fortified on every Side.* *Strabo* : ‡ *Egypt* is very difficult of Access, on the Eastern Side towards *Phenice* and *Judæa*. As to the Entrance into it from *Arabia*, the whole Way is a Desart, and impassable to an Army. *Tacitus* || calls it a Province difficult of Access ; so that it could have little to fear from its Neighbours, and

* Αθανάτω δε τείχει τῷ Νεῖλῳ τετειχισμένην, ὅς ἔστι μόνον φυλακὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν ἰκανὴν αὐτῇ παρέχειν πέφυκεν. Αναλωτός μὲν ὢν καὶ δυσμαχίτος τοῖς ἐπιβελουσιν. *Hoc. Buis. Laud. p. 224.*

† Ἡ γὰρ Αἰγύπτος — οχυροτῇτι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ καλλεὶ χώρας ἐκ ολίγων δόκει προεχεῖν τῶν εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφωρισμένων τόπων — Ἡ μὲν Αἰγύπτος πανταχοῦ φυσικῶς ὠχυρωταὶ τὸν ἐρημικὸν τρόπον. *Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 26, 27. Δυσπρόσιτε παντελὸς κῆς Αἰγύπτῃς. Idem. l. 15. p. 358.*

‡ Δυσσεύσιβλος ἐστὶν ἡ Αἰγύπτος ἐκ τῶν ἐσθίων τόπων, τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ; καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς Ναβαταίων — δια τετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτον ἡ ὁδὸς — ἐρημὸς ἀπασα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀβατός στρατοπέδῳ. *Strab. Geog. l. 17. p. 1155. Edit. Amstel.*

|| Provinciam aditu difficilem. *Tacit. Histor. l. p. 57. Edit. Blav.*

Joseph's Corn would have been safe enough from them, without his fortifying all the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom.

Besides, this Author betrays his intire Ignorance of the Nature of *Egypt*, in thus making the Fortification of the *Egyptian* Cities take its rise from these Store-houses and Granaries, and the Necessity of keeping and securing the Corn in them. No Man, but a learned Philosopher of our Author's deep Penetration and Sagacity, and thorough Skill in the Antiquities and Histories of Nations, could ever have derived so important a Science, as that of Fortification, from such a Cause, when a natural and more obvious one was at Hand. *Egypt* * was a flat champion Country, not originally Part of the Continent, but of the Sea, and formed gradually by the Mud left by the *Nile* after its Inundation; on which Account 'tis justly called by *Herodotus* † *the gained Country*, and *the Gift of the River*. And as the *Nile* ‡ yearly overflowed this Country, and covered the whole Face of it with its Waters, their Cities, Towns and Villages were

* Καθολικὴ γὰρ τὴν νῦν ἔσταν Αἰγυπτίον λεγέσθιν ἡ χώραν ἀλλὰ θαλάττην γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε κοσμοῦ συστάσιν. Ὑπερὸν μὲντοι τὴ Νεῖλῳ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἰλὺν καταφέροντος, ἐκ τῆ κατ' ὀλίγον προσχωσθῆναι. For this Reason he calls it, *χώρα πάσα ποταμοχώρας*. A Country intirely heaped up by the River. Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 144. And Aristotle. *Πάσα ἡ χώρα τε ποταμὸς προσχωσὶς ἔσα τε Νεῖλος*. Meteor. l. 1. c. 14.

† *Επικτήτος γῆ, καὶ δωρον τε ποταμῷ*. Herod. Euterp. c. 5.

‡ *Τῆς μὲν χώρας ἔσης πεδίουδος, τῶν δὲ πόλεων, καὶ τῶν κωμῶν ἐτι δὲ τῶν ἀγροικίων κειμένων ἐπὶ χειροποίητων χωματῶν, ἡ προσχωσὶς οὕτως γίνεται ταῖς κυκλασιν νηυσὶς*. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 33.

built

built upon Hills, thrown up by human Art and Industry, and guarded with Mounds of Earth, to secure them against the Overspread of the Waters, into which they brought their Cattle to save them from perishing, and where all the Inhabitants of the Country retired, during the Time of the *Nile's* Increase, 'till its Waters retired again within its Banks. And as these || Mounds of Earth served to keep out the Waters of the *Nile*, so they served also, and were originally intended, as Securities against the Invasion of Enemies. So that the very Nature of the Country, and the Necessity of Self-preservation, gave rise to the Fortification of the Cities of *Egypt*, and not the poor accidental Circumstance of Store-houses and Granaries.

He thinks it, unquestionably a very shrewd Observation, and profound Discovery, that he hath found out the first Instance of Fortresses and strong Holds that ever were in the World. And I will allow him to be a *Critical Star* of the first Magnitude. He never had his Equal, and I am confident never will have his Fellow. But great Criticks have sometimes the Misfortune to be mistaken. Fortifications appear to be much older than the Times of *Joseph*, and to have been in *Egypt*, and other Countries before this. The * *City and Tower of Babel*, made with

|| Ρεοντος τε Νειλου περι την πολιν, και κατα τας αναβασεις επιπλυντος, απο μεν τε Νοτου προσεβαλετο χωμα παμμεγεδες, προς μεν την πληρωσιν τε ποταμου, προβληματος, προς δε τας απο της γης πολεμιας, ακροπολεως εχων ταξιν. Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 46.

* Gen. ix. 3

Brick, and cemented with Lime, looks very much like a Fortrefs. *Pelusium* or *Sin* was built some hundred Years before *Joseph*, and fortified by the *Egyptians* for the Security of their own Country, and to preserve a free Passage into *Canaan*; it being the only Pass from *Canaan* into *Egypt*; for this Reason called *Abaris*, or the Pass, from עבר *to pass over*, and by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, † *the Strength of Egypt*. Indeed almost all the Towns and Cities of *Egypt* were fortified from their very first Original; and therefore * *Justin*, in his Epitome of *Trogus*, introduces the *Scythians*, who disputed with the *Egyptians* for Antiquity, as allowing that *Egypt* had been fortified by the Care and at the Expence of so many Kings and so many Ages past, had such large Moles erected in it to defend it against the Violence of the Waters, that ran into it, had been cut into so many Canals for the Reception of the Waters, that it appeared to be the latest of all Countries, whether we consider it as raised up by their Kings, or by the Mud carried along with it by the *Nile*. So that *Egypt* had not only her Towns fortified at a vast Expence, for many Ages past, by the great Heaps of Earth that were thrown up, to defend them against the Waters, by her Kings; but the

† Ezek. xxx. 15.

* *Ægyptum autem, quæ tot regum tot seculorum cura impensaque munita sit, & adversus vim incurrentium aquarum tantis structa molibus, tot fossis concisa, non posse videri hominum vetustate ultimam, quæ sive ex aggerationibus regum, sive Nili trahentis limum, terrarum recentissima videatur.* Justin Hist.

l. 2. c. 1

Country

Country itself owed its Being to them, and which therefore were of equal Antiquity with the very Lands and Cities themselves. *Sodom* had its Gate, in which *Lot* sat. † God promised *Abraham*, that his Seed should possess the Gate of his Enemies. † *Kirjath-Arba* or *Hebron*, had its Gates so early as the Death of *Sarah*, and the || City in which *Shechem* dwelt had also its Walls and Gates. We read also of the Tower of *Edar* * in *Jacob's* Times. So that long before *Joseph's* Power in *Egypt* there were Cities, and these Cities had their Walls, Towers, and Gates, which look so much like Fortifications, that nothing in the World can look more so. I would therefore advise my learned Doctor to revise a little his Doctrine concerning the Original of fortifying Cities. I confess it hath one Thing to recommend it, viz. its Novelty, having never been before, so much as thought of by any of the ancient or modern Criticks. But our Philosopher is an *universal Theorist*, and nothing comes amiss to him relating either to War or Peace.

The other Reason alledged for the Necessity there was now to garison the Towns and Cities where the Corn was kept, viz. that † without this Precaution, it had been impossible to have prevented the Egyptians themselves from seizing the Corn, under so severe a Famine, is impertinent and stupid. For it shall be immediately proved, in spite of this Philosopher's Learning and

† Gen. xxii. 17. † xxiii. 10. 18. || xxxiv. 20. xlix. 6.

* Gen. xxxv. 21.

† Page 13.

Invention, that *Joseph* transplanted all the People throughout the Country of *Egypt* into the neighbouring Cities for the better Support of them during the Famine, and therefore did not, could not fortify these Cities against the *Egyptians*, because he admitted them into these Cities. This profound Antiquarian should have gone farther, and told us, that these Magazines and Granaries were all Citadels and Castles, and strong Towers, and then there would have been another wonderful Discovery, *viz.* of the Original and first Instance of Citadels, Castles and Towers.

When he adds, this * *is the first Instance upon Record of any such absolute arbitrary Power*, if he means, that the garrisoning Cities, and fortifying them against Enemies, is always an Argument of absolute arbitrary Power, 'tis Nonsense and Absurdity. If he means, that this was the first Original of Garrisons and Fortifications, 'tis false, as hath been fully shewn. Or if he means, that this is the first Instance of any such Arbitrary Power exercised in *Egypt*, then I deny that any such Power was there exercised, or that *Joseph* did garrison the Towns and Cities where the Corn was, or build Fortresses and strong Holds for Store-houses. The Nature of the Thing did not require it, and the sacred Historian is absolutely silent about it. And if he hath any other Meaning 'tis not worth inquiring after, and will I doubt not, when he discovers it, appear as true and pertinent as the others.

In high Spirits, for so happy a Discovery in the Military Science, our Philosopher proceeds to assure us, that Joseph * *thus made himself Master of Egypt*. This is marvellous indeed, that *Joseph* should have thus made himself Master of *Egypt* in so short a Space, and especially when the Philosopher himself tells us, that † *the Officers under him, as supreme Inspector, were by Joseph's Advice to be of the King's Appointment*. What, were all the Nobles and great Men and Inhabitants of *Egypt* asleep, or absolute Slaves, that they should thus suffer their King to be unkinged, their Cities and Towns to be fortified and garrisoned, Fortresses and strong Holds to be built all over the Country, and themselves to be wholly at the Disposal of a Stranger? If *Joseph* was thus suffered to become Master of *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* were Slaves to his Hands, and need not and could not be made worse Slaves, than they originally were, by him. Besides how was *Joseph* Master of *Egypt*? Who were the Persons he employed to keep *Egypt* in Subjection and Bondage? His own Family he allows were not yet come down. Who then did he place in the Garrisons; Native *Egyptians* or Foreigners? If the Latter, the Philosopher will have more Questions to answer, than any Man of an ordinary Capacity will be able to resolve. Who were they? Whence did they come? How came they to be introduced to Garrisons? Was it with, or without

Pharaoh's Leave, and the Consent of the *Egyptians*? With many other of the like Kind. If the Former, *Egypt* was in the Hands of her own Inhabitants, and had nothing to fear from the Power of *Joseph*. Or did the *Egyptians*, that *Joseph* placed in Garrisons, and the Officers appointed under him by the King, all conspire with *Joseph* to enslave their own Country to a Foreigner, and to raise him to a Power superior to that of *Pharaoh*? The Absurdity and Romance of this Account is so monstrous, as to need nothing else to expose it, but to represent it.

S E C T. VII.

Of Jacob's Descent, with his Family into Egypt.

J *oseph*, it seems, made himself Master of *Egypt*. Well: What did he do then? Why he * *had a good Opportunity of bringing down his Father and Brethren, and this he brought about without a War, and by the Commission and Authority of Pharaoh himself.* True, but yet he could not relate this Part of the History, without mixing a notorious Falshood with it; viz. that *Joseph* had a good Opportunity of disposing amongst his Father and Brethren and their Families the chief Places of Power and Profit in the rich and populous Country of *Egypt*. For of all this there is not one Word in the *Hebrew* Historian, but a strong Evidence, as shall be shewn, to the Contrary.

However, as the Philosopher will have it, that

they were all of them to be made Officers of State, so he appoints them a splendid and magnificent Conveyance into *Egypt*; for says he, Joseph † *sent the King's own Coaches and Chariots to bring down Father, Brethren, Patriarchy, Wives, Concubines, Servants and Substance.* Methinks *Waggon*s might have served the *Concubines*, and *Servants*, at least it was good enough for the *Substance*, viz. Oxen, Asses, Sheep and other Cattle. But such was the Gallantness of Joseph's Soul, that the *Substance* must ride in *Pharaoh's* Chariots and Coaches, as well as the Men and Women. And thus the facetious Philosopher presents his Reader with a Procession of Men, Women and Children, Princes of Tribes, Servants, Shepherds and Herds-men Oxen, Asses, Sheep and Camels, all marching from *Canaan* into *Egypt*, in the Coaches and Chariots of King *Pharaoh*.

Tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.

Our Translation runs indeed in a less marvellous and much flatter Stile. * *Take you Waggon*s out of the Land of *Egypt*, for your little ones and for your Wives, and bring your Father and come. Not a Word of the Servants and Herds-men riding either in Coaches or Waggons in *Pharaoh's* Order; and when the Sons of *Jacob* began their Journey, the Historian observes, that † the Sons of *Israel* carried *Jacob* their Father, and their little ones and their Wives in the *Waggon*s which *Pharaoh* had sent to carry him,

† Page 14.

* Gen. xlv. 19.

† xvi. 5.

without mentioning any other. But our Philosopher knows better than *Pharaoh* what his Order to *Joseph* was, and better than *Jacob's* Sons, how they marched into *Egypt*.

It must also be supposed, that an Author, of our Philosopher's Learning and Integrity, hath some peculiarly *critical Remarks* to prove the original Word עגלה in this Place signifies *Coaches* and *Chariots*, and not *Waggons*, as our Translators have rendred it. But this I know, that the Word often signifies *Waggons* properly so called, such as were *drawn with Oxen*, unless this learned Author hath some secret Authorities, such as I have never been so fortunate as to see, to prove, that it was the ancient Custom to draw *Coaches* and *Chariots* with *Oxen* instead of *Horses*. Thus in the Offering of the Princes, they brought * *six covered Waggons and twelve Oxen*. The *Philistines* sent back the Ark on † *a new Cart drawn by two milch-Kine*. *David* fetched the Ark from *Kirjath-Jearim* on ‡ *a new Cart drawn with Oxen*. Yea we read of an עגלה, or || *Cart loaden with and full of Sheaves*. Yea, I will venture to affirm, that tho' the Word is used about thirty Times in the Old Testament, yet that there is not one Place where it appears to denote any thing else but a *Cart*. The usual Word for *Chariots* in the Old Testament is רכב or כרכבה from רכב, *Equitavit, he rode*, because *Chariots* were drawn *with Horses*. Thus *Pharaoh* ||| *made Joseph ride במרכבת המשנה, in*

* Numb. vii. 3, 6, 7. † 1 Sam. vi. 7, 10.

‡ 2 Sam. vi. 3, 6, || Amos ii. 13. ||| Gen. xli. 43.

*the second Chariot ; and when Pharaoh pursued the Israelites, he made ready רכבו * his Chariot, and took with him six Hundred בחר בחסן chosen Chariots. So that I am apprehensive, we must take down the Patriarchy, Herdsmen, and Oxen a little lower, and the Philosopher must be content to drive them into Egypt in Carts and Waggon instead of Coaches and Chariots.*

But not content thus to convey them in Chariots, he adds another Circumstance by way of *Garnish* to the Story, viz. that *Joseph* sent the King's † *own Coaches and Chariots to bring them down.* This is very strange, considering the Number of Persons, exclusive of the Substance, which he says ‡ was probably *thirty Times Seventy*, or two Thousand one Hundred. This same King *Pharaoh* was a most opulent Prince, thus to have Coaches and Chariots of his own for so large a Number of Persons, which at the Rate of two in a Chariot come to one Thousand and fifty, and at the Rate of four, make five Hundred and twenty five. But probably they were *Chariots of War*, and then 'tis more easily accounted for. *Joseph* might be afraid of the Dangers of the Journey, and so took Care to grant his Father a proper Guard to escort him and his Substance in Safety, as well as Grandure, to the Land of *Egypt*. But how comes my Philosopher to know that they were *Pharaoh's* own Coaches and Chariots? He speaks as confident as if he had been present

* Exod. xiv. 6, 7.

† Page 14.

‡ Page 15.

at the Order given by the King, or had been employed by *Joseph* in executing it; whereas the History says nothing like it, but on the Contrary represents *Pharaoh* as saying: * *Take you Waggon*s out of the Land of Egypt for your Little ones, and for your Wives. Let the Country furnish you with Carriages for your Family. Not a Syllable or Intimation of, *Take my own Coaches and Chariots*. This comes from the same fertile Mint of *Philosophical Brain*, as the rest of the Romance that he hath drawn up, without any Authority or Shadow of Colour and Probability.

I doubt not but my Reader will be surpris'd at the large Number he makes *Jacob's* Family to consist of. † *Tho' the Number of Souls, which came down into Egypt, including Joseph and his own Sons born in Egypt, are said to be Seventy, it is evident, says my Philosopher, that these were only the Heads and Princes of the Tribes, without including their Servants, their Shepherds and Herdsmen, with their Children, Wives and Concubines, which must have been at least, ten, or more probably, thirty Times the Number, i. e. they must have been 700, or 2100 at least. The Account of the Hebrew Historian is: That Jacob ‡ and all his Seed with him came into Egypt his Sons, and his Sons Sons with him, his Daughters, and his Sons Daughters, and all his Seed brought he with him into Egypt. After which are particularly mentioned his Sons, his Sons Children, and Grand-children, and the Number of each*

* Gen. xlv. 19. † Page. 15. ‡ Gen. xlv. 6, 7.

'tis remarked : * *All the Souls that came with Jacob into Egypt which came out of his Loyns besides Jacob's Sons Wives, all the Souls were threescore and Six. † And the Sons of Joseph which were born him in Egypt were two Souls. All the Souls of the House of Jacob, which came into Egypt were threescore and ten, viz. inclusive of Jacob, Joseph and his two Sons. Jacob's Family consisted therefore of his Sons and Daughters, his Grand-children, and great Grand-children ; and these, by the Historian, are said to be all the Souls which came out of his Loyns. And therefore his Sons Wives are expressly excluded out of the Account, because not his Posterity, but his Daughters and Grand-daughters are as expressly mentioned, and their Names recorded in the List. In Exodus they are reckoned by the Names of Jacob's twelve Sons and their Household. ‡ These are the Names of the Children of Israel which came into Egypt every Man and his Household came with Jacob, all the Souls that came out of the Loyns of Jacob were seventy Souls. Again in Deuteronomy, Moses expressly tells them : || Thy Fathers went down into Egypt with Threescore and ten Persons. Nothing can be more plain from these Passages, than that all Jacob's Posterity, Children, Grand-children and Great-grandchildren amounted to no more than Seventy Persons. What now says my Philosopher to this? Why, with his usual Modesty and Veracity, 'tis evident that those were only the Heads and Princes of the Tribes.*

* Gen. xli. 26 † 27. ‡ Exod. i. 1. 5. || Deut. x, 22.

'Tis evident. All he writes is Demonstration. But from whence is it evident? He hath not suggested one Word to make it so much *as probable*. I will even *demonstrate* the contrary. For amongst these Seventy there were some Women, particularly *Dinah*, *Jacob's* Daughter by *Leah*, and *Serah* his Grand-daughter by *Asher*. *Excellent Philosopher*, who can find out Heads and Princes of Tribes amongst *the Ladies*!

Again, *Jacob* was about 100 Years old at *Benjamin's* Birth, at his Descent into *Egypt* he was 130; so that the Space of Time between *Benjamin's* Birth, and *Jacob's* Descent into *Egypt* was about thirty Years. And yet when *Benjamin* went into *Egypt* he had ten Sons, and therefore they must be all of them Children, and several of them mere Infants. So that here is another *Philosophical Problem*, that the Heads and Princes of the Tribes were *Children and Infants* as well as *Women*. I should be extreamly glad to know what Tribes these Children, Infants, and Women were Heads and Princes of. I have often heard of the *twelve Tribes* of *Israel*, and at this Time the very twelve Men, from whom these Tribes were named, were living, who one would think must have then been the only Heads and Princes of them. But *seventy Tribes*, and *seventy Heads* and Princes of Tribes in *Israel* is a new Discovery, for which the learned World is intirely beholden to this *Philosophical Antiquary*. But perhaps I shall be told that *Jacob's* twelve Sons were the *Princes of the Tribes*
and

and his Daughter, Grandsons, and Grand-daughter were *Heads of Tribes* under these Princes. Be it so. *Reuben* was Prince of his Tribe, which consisted of the large Number of four Sons. And *Zebulon* was Prince over three, and *Joseph* over two, and poor Prince *Dan* was Prince over one. *Illustrious Princes* these, worthy to ride in the Coaches and Chariots of King *Pharaoh*! But how shall we make out these other *Heads of Tribes*? There was only two of the Grandchildren that had any Children at all, so that all the rest of these Heads were Heads without Bodies to them, which is a most marvellous and sagacious Discovery. But how ridiculous must the Creature appear, that produceth such Stuff for History, and makes Fathers of small Families to be Princes and Heads of Tribes; and all to support an idle Hypothesis, that is as false as History can make it. For though he says *their Children were not included in this Number*, 'tis mere Fiction contrary to the plainest Fact; the Historian expressly naming their Children and Grandchildren, and positively affirming that *Jacob*, with all the Souls that proceeded from him, made up *but Threescore and ten*. He doth indeed exclude their Wives and Servants. But who besides a *minute Philosopher* would ever imagine, that seventy Persons, several of whom were Children, should have Wives and Servants attending them to the Number of six Hundred and thirty, or what he thinks more probable, two Thousand and thirty. What he talks of *their Concubines* is a Piece of Scandal worthy of his Pen, and

what would have dropped from none but his. The Historian mentions only their Wives, and 'tis an infamous Calumny in him to charge them with bringing down their Concubines. 'Tis what he knows he is not at all able to prove. But Scandal is his Talent, and his fixed Enmity is to Truth and Candour.

The Reason he assigns for thus multiplying the Family of *Jacob* is impertinent and absurd. *Therefore, says he, * a whole Province, the Land of Goshen, the finest and richest Part of the lower Egypt, was assigned them to live separate by themselves, and in their own Way, which could not surely have been necessary for seventy Souls, without any farther Property or Dependence, for then a very small Town had been more than sufficient.* First, 'tis not true, that a whole Province, the Land of Goshen, was assigned them; the Thing is not probable, nor doth the Historian mention it. *Joseph sends Word by his Brethren to Jacob: † Thou shalt dwell in the Land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near to me, thou and thy Children and thy Childrens Children, and thy Flocks and thy Herds, and all that thou hast. Joseph's Brethrens Petition to Pharaoh was: ‡ We pray thee let thy Servants dwell in the Land of Goshen. Pharaoh's Grant was: || In the Land of Goshen let them dwell. And accordingly ||| Joseph gave them a Possession in the Land of Egypt in the Land of Rameses as Pharaoh had commanded.*

* Page 15. † Gen. xlv. 10. ‡ xlvii. 4.

|| 6. ||| 11.

* *אֶחָזָה*, is a Property in a Country. Give us, say the Daughters of *Zelophehad* *אֶחָזָה*, a Possession amongst the Brethren of our Father. And in other Places. † And thus Joseph placed his Father and his Brethren, and gave them *אֶחָזָה* *מְצָרִים בָּאָרֶץ*, a Possession in the Land of Egypt, in the best of the Land, in the Land of Rameses; plainly a different thing from his giving them the Possession of that whole Province. 'Tis pity, when his Hand was in, that the Philosopher had not given them the Possession of all Egypt, as well as of all the Land of *Goshen*, for the Text expressly says, that *Joseph* gave them a Possession in the Land of Egypt, as well as in the best of the Land, in the Land of *Rameses*. But would any Man, but a sharp-sighted Philosopher imagine, that a Permission to dwell in a Land, was the same thing as giving that whole Land? Or should my Author be placed in *Siberia*, and allow'd a Possession there, would any one think that the whole Province was assigned him, *to live separate by himself and in his own way*? If this whole Province was given to *Jacob*, what, must we suppose that *Goshen* was uninhabited before? Or were the former Inhabitants expelled, with their Cattle, to make way for *Jacob* and his Family? Your Vouchers, Philosopher, for this Piece of History? I take on me to say 'tis false; for *Pharaoh's* Cattle and Servants were in *Goshen*, after *Jacob* and his Family were placed there, and *Pharaoh* orders *Joseph*, if thou know-

* Numb. xxvii. 4.

† Gen. xlvii. 11.

est any Man of Activity amongst thy Brethren, make them Rulers over my Cattle. Goshen was a fruitful Country, fit for Pasturage, where *Pharaoh's* own Cattle were kept, and which was large enough to receive the *Hebrews* and their Cattle. And therefore *Pharaoh* not only permits *Joseph's* Brethren to dwell there, but orders him to place them over his own Cattle, if any of them were strong and active enough to be entrusted with the Care of them. When he adds, that *a small Town would be more than sufficient for them, if they had not been more than Seventy*, this is only adding one Blunder to another. For whether they were more or less than Seventy, neither one small Town nor two would have been either fit or sufficient for them. For they were Shepherds, who wanted the open Country and not Towns, and who dwelt in Tents rather than in Cities, nor can our Philosopher prove they wanted any Town, or had any one assigned them.

But a Settlement they had, and what Marvel doth the Philosopher's Invention suggest next? Why, *Joseph* * *was ordered to make them Governours and Rulers in Egypt, and bestow on them such Places, as he thought them most capable of, and fit for.* And for this he cites *Gen. xlvii. 1. --- vii.* the only Words in which Passage to his Purpose are : *If thou knowest any Man of Activity amongst them, then make them Rulers over my Cattle.* i. e. says my Moral Philosopher, *make*

* Page 16.

*them Governours and Rulers in Egypt. Was ever Truth so glaring, or Demonstration so convincing! If thou knowest any Man of Activity, מְעוֹלָם, Men of Strength, stout lusty Men, * make them Rulers of my Cattle, i. e. dispose amongst them the chief Places of Power and Profit. This is most critically hit of: Because they were powerful Men some of them, they must have Places of Power, and because Pharaoh orders Joseph to make them Rulers of Cattle, they were to be Governours and Rulers of Men too, and have the chief Places of Profit in that rich and populous Country. 'Tis true, the poor Men imagined nothing of all this. They owned themselves Shepherds to Pharaoh: They told him they were come only to sojourn in the Land, because of the Famine in Canaan: They asked only a Settlement in the Land of Goshen, because it was fit for Pasturage. Pharaoh makes them the Grant of that Settlement, and orders them, if any of them were strong enough, to be some of his chief Shepherds and Herdsmen. But instead of dwelling in Goshen, the Philosopher in an Instant spreads them through all Egypt, and brings them into the Court of Pharaoh, and gives them at once the chief Places of Power and Profit in Egypt. So that one was Lord Chamberlain, another Lord Steward, another Lord Cook, another Lord Jaylour, another Captain General, and others Governours of Towns and Provinces, just as my Lord Joseph thought proper and fit;*

all *without a War, even by the Commission and Authority of Pharaoh himself.* And thus there was an entire Change of the Ministry in *Pharaoh's* Court, and *Joseph* who before this * *had at once the whole Power, Force, and Direction of the Kingdom put into his Hands,* now turns out all he then put in, and places in the room of them, his Brethren, his Cousins, and other Relations. And it must be owned that *Egypt* was now hopefully governed, when all her chief Places of Profit and Trust were in the Hands of Shepherds and Herdsmen; and the *Egyptians* will be allowed to be Men of Spirit, and great Politeness and Complaisance, and to be in full Possession of their Liberty, who thus submitted to be turned out of all their Employments in Court and Country, to make way for *Joseph* and his Brethren and Kinsmen. This is a most diverting History of our Philosopher, and only wants the small Circumstances of Truth and Probability to recommend it. If he had added to his other Inventions, that of this † *Commission of Pharaoh,* which he speaks of, 'twould have been a *notable Curiosity,* and a very reverend Piece of Antiquity. But as he hath denyed us this Instrument, we must take the Fact upon the Authority of his bare but infallible Assertion.

* Page 12.

† Page 14.

S E C T. VIII.

Of Joseph's Management during the Famine.

HAVING thus brought down, by many marvelous Narrations, the Patriarch and his Family into *Egypt*, he next proceeds, after a shrewd Hint or two about *the Pastors*, to the History of the Famine; which he introduces with a Recapitulation of some of the Wonders he had before related; such as *Joseph's being put into Possession of the whole military Force of the Kingdom, his fortifying and guarding the Granaries of Corn*; to which he now adds another Thing, as wonderful as any of them, *viz. that Pharaoh's * Coffers were now Joseph's own.* The Historian had observ'd that when *Joseph* had † *gathered up all the Money that was found in the Land of Egypt, and in the Land of Canaan, for the Corn which they bought, he brought the Money into Pharaoh's House*; and this very Place the Philosopher cites to prove, that he laid it up *in the King's Coffers, which were now his own.* So that there is this Difference between the Historian and the Philosopher, in that the Former mentions *Joseph's* bringing the Money into *the King's House*, as an Argument of his great Fidelity and Integrity in his Administration; the Latter, his laying it up in *the King's Coffers*, as a Reproach on him for

* Page 18.

† Gen. xlvii. 14.

having

having seized the King's Treasures, and converted all the Money that had been received for Corn, from *Canaan* and *Egypt*, to his own Uses. But how *Pharaoh's* Coffers could be *Joseph's*, unless *Pharaoh's* House was *Joseph's* too, or unless he had fortified *Pharaoh's* House, and set a Guard about *Pharaoh's* House and Person and Coffers, is a Mystery which needs our Author's farther Explication. He is surely the most surprising Man living : He raises in an Instant Fortifications, Castles and Garrisons ; transforms Shepherds in a Moment into Officers of State ; creates with a Word Prime Ministers, Captain Generals, Lord Treasurers, and other high Posts and Dignities, and what is more, unking Princes, and divests them in a trice of all their Royal State and Power ; leaving them neither Men nor Money, nor any single Circumstance of Royalty, the empty Name and Title only excepted. But I shall leave the Proof, that the King's Coffers were now become *Joseph's*, to our Author at his leisure ; observe only that when he affirms, that the *Hebrew* Steward had drawn in all the Money in the Land of *Egypt* and the Land of *Canaan*, 'tis more than he can prove, and than the Historian affirms. The Historian only says, that he * *gathered up all the Money that was found*, or as the Word often signifies, † *obtained or procured, in the Land of Egypt*

* Gen. xlvii. 14.

† נָסַבְתִּי, Procured, obtained received. So *Isaac* sowed in the Land נָסַבְתִּי and found, i. e. received in the same Year an hundred Fold Gen. xxvi. 12.

and Canaan, for the Corn which they bought ; a quite different Circumstance, from his gathering up all the Money that was in those Countries. He did gather up all that he got for the Corn, but not all that the Inhabitants of those two Countries had in possession, which is not at all probable. And though it be said in the next Verse, that *the Money failed in the Land of Egypt, and in the Land of Canaan*, the Meaning is, not that there was no more Money in those Countries, but that it grew scarce, and the Inhabitants refused to bring any more ; and in this Sense of partial Consumption or Failure, the original Word is oftentimes used. Nor can there be a more improbable Supposition in the World, than that all the Money in *Egypt* and *Canaan* was expended upon the Purchase of a Year or two's Corn ; tho' if he had drained *Canaan* of all its Money, I see no Crime that he would have been guilty of, nor Obligation he was under to give them the Corn of *Egypt* without paying for it. And as the providing Granaries for the Corn, and collecting it in, in the Seven Years of Plenty, must have cost the King of *Egypt* large Sums, 'twas no Injustice to the *Egyptians* to insist on their paying for the Corn, which had been laid up at such an Expence, for their Benefit and Advantage, and even for the Preservation of their Lives.

And it was with this View of saving their Cattle, that *Joseph* demanded them, when their Money failed. As they had no Corn for themselves,

selves, much less had they for their Cattle ; nor could their Lands feed them, because the whole Country was impoverished ; the Consequence of which would have been, the intire Destruction of them by the Dearth, or by the *Egyptians* themselves for immediate Supply ; either of which would have been extreamly detrimental and even ruinous to the whole Country, and what therefore the generous Governour of *Egypt* was obliged to prevent. And therefore in this Case, he did the *Egyptians* no Injury, but a real Benefit to give them Bread in the room of Cattle, since this was the only Way to preserve the Lives of both, and to prevent that waste of the Corn, which must have been made, if they had had the keeping and feeding of the Cattle themselves. And even this Detention of their Cattle seems only to be a temporary Thing, and to have lasted no longer than the Misfortune that occasioned it. For as Mr. *Chapman* * justly observes, “ ’tis not to be doubted, but when *Joseph* fixed
 “ all in their several Habitations and Possessions,
 “ that he also furnished them with all proper
 “ Conveniences of Money, Cattle, &c. for sup-
 “ porting their Families and carrying on their
 “ Business.” The same is observed by *Origen*, † who tells us, that when *Joseph* gave the *Egyptians* Bread for their Cattle, he did not do it out

* Euseb. V. 2. Pref. p. 10

† Οὐκ ὥτως τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖ Ἰωσήφ. ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ καμῶσι τὰ κτήνη τρέφοντες, καὶ ἵνα μετὰ ταῦτα χάριν αὐτὰ δεξῶνται παρὰ τοῦ Φαραῶ. Orig. Select. in Gen. v. 2. p. 51. Edit. Benedict.

of Cruelty to them, but to prevent their failing to feed them, and that they might afterwards freely receive them again from *Pharaoh*; otherwise, indeed, it would have been impossible for them to have managed the Affairs of the Country with any tolerable Comfort or Success. Yea, his very giving them Seed to sow their Lands, would have signified nothing without some kind of Cattle. For tho' the Lands of *Egypt* do not need that Cultivation which those of other Countries do, to render them fit for the Reception of the Seed; yet, when once the Seed is sown, they would want Cattle, either to trample it into the Soil, or gently to plow it into the Ground: For * both of these Methods were in Use amongst the ancient *Egyptians*. Nor would the restoring them their Lands, any more than giving them Seed, have been of any Benefit to them, had he kept from them all their Cattle. For one † Third Part of the common People of *Egypt* were anciently *Shepherds*, who were wholly employ'd in the Care

* Τὸς μὲν πλείους τῶν γεωργῶν τοὺς ἀναξήρανομενοὺς τῆς γῆς τοποῖς ἐφισαμένους, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα βάλλοντας, ἐπαγαγὲν τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ τοτοῖς συμπάτησαντας, μετὰ τετάρτης ἢ πεντέμυας ἀπάνταν ἐπὶ τὸν θέρισμον. Ἐνίους δὲ κούροις ἀροτροῖς ἐπαγαγοντας βραχέως τὴν ἐπιφανείαν τῆς βεβεργημένης χώρας, σωρὸς ἀναιρεῖσθαι τῶν καρπῶν. Diodor. l. 1. p. 32. Vid. etiam Herod. l. 2. c. 14.

† Ἐστὶ δ' ἑτέρα συντάγματα τῆς πολιτείας τρία, τὸ, τὲ. τῶν νομῶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν — οὗ δ' αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν νομῶν, οἱ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμελείαν ἐκ πατέρων ὡς περ κληρονομίας νόμῳ παραλαμβάνοντες, ἐν βίῳ κτηνοτροφῶν διατελεῖσι πάντα τὸν τὲ ζῆν χρόνον. Diodor. l. 1. p. 67.

and

and Management of Cattle, and were bred up to this Business by a continual Succession from Father to Son. But what would their Pasture Lands have been worth, without Cattle to consume the Produce of them? Or did *Joseph* condemn a Third Part of the Inhabitants of *Egypt* to Idleness, by rendering them incapable of all manner of Employment? Yea, did he force them to starve, even after the Years of Scarcity were ended? The Philosopher seems to think he kept all their live Stock, and not content with this, that

Whent hey had thus parted with their Money and Cattle, and *came again*, as this candid Philosopher terms it, *to the generous humane Steward*, and told MY HEBREW LORD, *that there was nothing more left in the Sight of my Lord, but their Bodies and their Lands, both which they were willing to part with, and become Pharaoh's Slaves and Vassals for ever, he took them at their Word.* The Reader will observe, that *Slaves and Vassals* are philosophical Terms, and not the Words of the Historian. The original Word עֶבֶד by no Means signifies necessarily a *Slave*, in that disgraceful Sense in which the Philosopher here uses it, but is used frequently to denote the most honourable Services. 'Tis applied to Angels, to Men immediately employ'd by God, to Counsellors, Nobles, and the principal Officers in a Court; and therefore need not be understood of the lowest Degree of Servitude in the Place before us *. For

* Gen. xlvii. 19.

the Historian says, *that we and our Lands will be Servants to Pharaoh*; we will hold our Lands of him, and yield him immediate Service for them. But tho' the Word should be understood in *the lowest Sense*, yet it should be remarked, that this was the Offer of the *Egyptians* themselves, and not the Demand of *Joseph*; *Buy us and our Land for Bread, and we and our Lands will be Servants unto Pharaoh*; and as the Surrender was voluntary, from the People themselves, it was of such a Nature, that no Minister durst have refused it upon the Peril of his Head; for what Prince would refuse to be *arbitrary*, if his People *should resign* to him their Liberties; or what Minister would be forgiven by a Prince, that should refuse to accept such a *Resignation* when made? But we shall find that *Joseph* used it with the utmost Moderation that was possible, and improved it to the great Advantage of the *Egyptians* themselves.

However, having thus *took Possession of all the Lands of Egypt for Pharaoh*, he removed, as our Philosopher goes on, * *the People from their former Habitations, into the remotest Cities, and Parts of the Country, from one Side of Egypt to the other, which was a Sort of Exile in their own Country, and a great Aggravation of their Misery, after they had been stripped of all their Property and Possession*. This is a very lamentable Story indeed; but the best of it is, that there is

* P. 18. 19.

not one single Word of it true. *Remotest Cities and Parts of the Country*, is pure Philosophical Invention, and not History. The Words of the Historian are: * *As for the People, he removed them to Cities, from one End of the Borders of Egypt, even to the other End thereof.* The Reader will observe, that in the seven plenteous Years, *Joseph † gathered up the Food, and laid it up in the Cities; the Food of the Field which was round about every City, laid he up in the same.* When the People were become *Pharaoh's Servants*, what did this generous *Hebrew* do with them? Why, instead of suffering them to live in the Country, where it would have been difficult to have taken the due Care of them, he removed them into the Cities where the Corn was laid up, for the better Conveniency of feeding them, and this he did *throughout all Egypt*; not by transplanting every Family into Cities and Parts of the Country remotest from their own former Possessions, which 'twas impossible to do in so populous a Country as *Egypt* in an Year or two, and of which there is not one single Intimation in the original Historian; but by removing them *from one End of the Borders of Egypt, even to the other End thereof*, i.e. throughout the whole Country, into the Cities that were nearest them, where there was Corn sufficient to support them; an Act of the greatest Prudence, Compassion, and Generosity. *Egypt* was full of Cities and Towns, and extreamly populous,

* *Gen.* xlvii. 21.† *Gen.* xli. 48.

and had there been such an *universal Transplantation* of the Inhabitants, as the Philosopher suggests, the fixing the respective Places they should severally be removed to, when they left their own Habitations, and the assigning them proper Dwellings in their new Settlements, must have been a Work of immense Labour and Thought, which not one Year, nor ten, would have been sufficient to have brought to full Perfection. Not to add the absolute Improbability, that in an Year of Scarcity and Famine, all *Egypt* should have been put into Motion, and Men, Women, and Children, with their Household-Goods, should be forced to travel from one End of *Egypt* to another. The Thing must have caused infinite Confusions, and been attended with insuperable Difficulties. But to our philosophical Genius all is easy. 'Tis said, 'Tis done, and *Egypt* is put in a Moment into an *universal Exile*. But as this was not *Joseph's* Contrivance, we shall leave the philosophical Historian to his own Meditations on this wonderful Subject.

There is a Part, however, of this History, which the Philosopher hath left untouched, for which I can imagine no other Reason, but its doing Honour to the Character and Conduct of *Joseph*. The Historian tells us, that when *Joseph* had bought them and their Land for *Pharaoh*, he afterwards said to them : * *Behold I have bought you this Day, and your Land, for*

* Gen. xlvii. 24.

Pharaoh. — *It shall come to pass in the Increase, that you shall give the fifth Part unto Pharaoh, and four Parts shall be your own, for Seed of the Field, and for your Food, and for them of your Household, and for Food for your little Ones.* The Reader will observe by this, that the Philosopher's Story of *the universal Exile of the Egyptians*, by transplanting them from their former Habitations into the remotest Cities, and Parts of the Country, and stripping them of all their Property and Possession, appears now mere Fiction and Romance; and that his Exclamation, that it *was impossible to reduce them lower, or make them more miserable*, is a Calumny contrary to the History. When Joseph had, after their Resignation of their Lands, supposing these Lands were originally their own Property, removed them into the Cities and Towns that were nearest them, instead of perpetually enslaving them, of leaving them without Possession and Property, and reducing them to the lowest Degree of Misery, he, with a Generosity that few *Prime Ministers* have ever shewn, soon after * reinstates them, and takes no other Advantage of their Surrender, but to make them more secure in their Estates, by a perpetual Law; a Favour which the People acknowledged with the utmost Gratitude, owning him as the very Savi-

* Ο Ιωσήφ εις εκαστην παραγινομενος πολιν, η συλλεγων εν αυτοις το πληθος, την τε γην αυτοις, ην εκεινων παραχωρευτων βασιλευς εχεν εδυνατο, η καρπηδαι μονος, εις απαν εχαριζετο, η κτημα ιδιον ηγουμενος φιλεργην παρεκαλει, την πεμπτην των καρπων τη βασιλει τελοντας υπερ της χαρας, ην διδωσιν αυτοις, εσαν αυτε. Jose, h Antiq. l. 2. c. 7. § 7.

our of their Lives: * *They said, thou hast saved our Lives, let us find Grace in the Sight of my Lord, i. e. we thankfully accept the generous Grant, and we will be Pharaoh's Servants, i. e. hold our Lands of him, and pay him the fifth Part of the Produce. Immediately on this, Joseph made it a perpetual Law, that the fifth Part, and that only, should be Pharaoh's; so that 'twas a Law made with the full Consent of the People, and not by any arbitrary Appointment of Joseph himself. But if Joseph had been that ungenerous, tyrannical, cruel Taskmaster that our Philosopher hath made him, he would have kept the Possession of the Lands he had taken, upon the Egyptians Resignation of them; and out of so many fine Estates that now came into his Power, he would have kept some for himself, and distributed the rest of them amongst MY LORDS Zebulon, Muppm, Huppm, Guni, and the rest of the Lords his Relations, that he had brought down into Egypt. This would have been extreamly politick, absolutely weakned the Hands of the native Egyptians, and brought all the Riches, Property and Strength of the Kingdom into his own Hands and his Families. But instead of this, this generous Hebrew returns all the Lands that had been resigned to him to their former Possessors, and only lays a Tax on them after the Rate of four Shillings in the Pound, or the fifth Part of the Produce of them, to be given to Pha-*

* Gen. xlvii. 25.

raab, which he found by Trial, from what was taken up in the Seven Years of Plenty, the *Egyptians* could well spare, without any Damage to themselves or Families. And as this was made a perpetual Law, the *Egyptians* gained this singular Benefit; that they were for the future exempted from all arbitrary Impositions, and by an unalterable Edict, secured in the full and free Possession of their Lands, upon paying a reasonable and moderate and settled Proportion of the Produce, for the better Support of the *Egyptian* Crown and Government *.

By this wise Settlement, the Property and Taxes of the Subject, and the Demands of the Crown, were limited and fixed, and the *Egyptians*, who had sold themselves and their Lands, were restored to Property and Liberty; and I am apt to think, in a much more certain and secure Manner than before; the Intention of *Joseph*, in accepting the Surrender, being only by a perpetual Law, to secure them against all future Invasion; a Law that was in Force many Years after; the Historian observing, that *Joseph made it a Law unto this Day*, † or the Law continued to the Time of the sacred Author's writing the History. Before *Joseph's* Ministry, || *Artapanus*, an ancient Greek Writer, tell us, that the Affair of Agriculture in *Egypt* was in

* Gen. xlvii. 26. † Gen. xlvii. 26.

|| προτερον ατακτας των Αιγυπτίων γεωμορουντων, δια το της χωραν αδιαίρετοειναι, κ' των ελασσων υπο τον κρησσωνων αδικημενων. Artap. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 23.

great Disorder, and that the poorer Sort were oppressed by the higher. * *Diodorus Siculus*, and † *Plutarch*, both relate, that the common People of *Egypt* were greatly liable to revolt, and Conspiracies against their Governors, and that they were prone to Changes and Innovations: Remarks, that further demonstrate the consummate Prudence of this new Regulation of the *Hebrew* Patriarch. For as the Commonalty now held their Lands immediately of the Crown, and had a settled Property in Four Fifths of the Produce, they were hereby exempted from any Dependence on, or Oppression by the Nobles or Priests; and at the same Time, such an Union was established between the Crown and People, and such a mutual Dependence of each on the other, as was the best Security of the Rights and Privileges of both; freed the Crown from its Apprehension of the People's revolting, as they held all their Possessions by it, and the People from all Fears of the Crown's invading their Property, as *Joseph's* Law had settled and rendered it unalienable.

Our Philosopher, indeed, will not have it so, but tells us ‡, that *in the sixth Year of the Famine, the People having nothing else to part with, submitted themselves to be Pharaoh's Servants or Vassals for ever*; and yet in the very Page before ||,

* *Επι των παλαιων βασιλεων, πολλοις αφισαμενε τε πληθες, κ' συμπορευνεντος κατα των ηγεμονων.* *Diodor. Sic. l. i. p. 80.*

† *Τας Αιγυπτίους, τη μεν φυσει κερει, κ' προς μεταβολην κ' νεωτερισμον εξυρροπως οντας.* *Plutarch. de Isid. et osir, p. 380.*

‡ Page 19.

|| Page 18.

he had told us, that *in the Beginning of the Fifth Year, they were willing to become Pharaoh's Slaves and Vassals* for ever, and that *Joseph took them at their Word*. But our Author *is blind, and cannot see afar off*. If *Joseph* took them at their Word in the Beginning of the Fifth Year, then the Bargain of Slavery and Vassalage was made the Beginning of that Year, and not deferred 'till the Sixth; and if, as he says, they sold their Bodies and Lands in the Beginning of the Fifth Year, they could not be greater Slaves and Vassals in the Sixth. The Truth is, *Joseph* did not enslave them at all, but made them perpetually free.

When he adds, that ** now their Hebrew Lord, it being impossible to reduce them lower, or make them more miserable, besides the Corn which was absolutely necessary to preserve Life, gave them Seed Corn to sow their Land, which not having been done 'till toward the End of the Sixth Year, they could have no Produce or Subsistence for themselves, 'till near the End of the Seventh and last Year, which terminated the Famine; 'tis partly false, and partly more than he can prove. 'Tis false when he says, that Joseph could not reduce them lower, or make them more miserable; for their Misery was not owing to Joseph, but a providential Famine; and in that Famine Joseph could have starved them, but he saved their Lives. He could have kept their Estates, but he generously restored them. He could have*

enslaved them, but he settled them in their Property and Liberty, by an irreverfible Law: And that they and their Country were not abfolutely deftroy'd, was owing to his Prudence and Conduct. 'Tis more than he can prove, that *Joseph* gave them no Seed Corn 'till toward the End of the Sixth Year. For in the Fifth Year, in which he fays they agreed with *Joseph to become Vaffals and Slaves for ever*, they exprefsly demanded Seed for the Land, as well as Bread for themfelves. * *Buy us and our Land for Bread, and give us Seed, that the Land be not defolate; and Joseph faid to the People; Lo, here is Seed for you, and you fhall fow the Land.* And when the *Egyptians* bought Corn with their Money and Cattle, there is no Queftion but they bought enough for Seed as well as Bread. But when they faw the original Caufes of the Famine continue, we can fcarce fuppofe them fuch Fools, as to throw away their Corn by fowing it, when they knew it impoffible to produce any Harveft.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Caufes of the Famine in Egypt.

OUR Philofopher's Obfervation, that the *Egyptians had no Seed Corn 'till towards the End of the Sixth Year*, is in order to introduce a Remark, which is the *moft curious of all*

* Gen. xlvii. 19, 23.

Curiosities, and the most wonderful of all Wonders. Note here, Reader, a most choice Discovery, never so much as thought or heard of in the World before! Now here, says he, * we are let into the Secret how the Famine in Egypt came to last so long, and by what Means the Hebrew Prophet and Landlord, the great Task-Master of the Egyptians, was enabled to fulfil his own Predictions. Extreamly civil and polite this philosophical Language, of Prophet, Landlord, and Task-Master, all in a String.

*Antiquam adeo tuam venustatem obtines,
Ut voluptati Obitus, Sermo, Adventus tuus,
quocunque adveneris,
Semper fiet —*

Well, what did this Prophet, Landlord, and Egyptian Task-Master do? Why, the Philosopher hath just found out, that having at first engrossed and monopolized all the Corn, he was resolved, for such a Time, to give out no more of it, than what might be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, but to let the Egyptians have no Corn for Seed, 'till he had stripped them of all their Property, absolutely enslaved them, and exhausted all his own Stores. They might have had Seed Corn, sown their Lands, and raised a fresh Supply sooner, as well as now, had their Landlord and Task-Master thought fit to have suffer'd it. But this could not have answer'd the

Politician's End, in perfectly enslaving the People, and making himself Master of the Country. If this extraordinary Account is true, and the Philosopher gives it with an Air of fullest Assurance, I will venture to affirm, that *Joseph* and he were two of the archest, cunningest Fellows of their Time; *Joseph* for his Invention, and the Philosopher for discovering it first, above three Thousand Years after it took Place.

I remember when this Third Part of the Moral Philosopher first came out, I passed a very severe and *publick Censure* on this Passage; affirming that 'twas a notorious and *abominable Falsehood*, or Words to that Effect. This drew on me the Philosopher's Indignation, who called me to an Account for it by Letter, and demanded *I would retract it, or ask Pardon for it, or prove it, and appoint my Time and Place for doing it.* Denying myself the Pleasure of a private Conversation with him, I assured him I would vindicate myself, and do him Justice, in a more publick Manner. And the Justice I shall do him, is now to renew the Charge in the Face of the World, that his Account of *Joseph's* engrossing all the Corn, and that this was the Cause of the Length of the Famine in *Egypt*, is a *notorious and senseless Falsehood*, that hath not the least Authority, or Shew of Probability to support it. But as this Passage hath several *philosophical Curiosities* in it, I shall, in order to treat of them with greater Distinctness, reduce them under several Heads. He asserts,

- I. That *Joseph* at first engrossed and monopolized all the Corn.
- II. That he was resolved, for such a Time, to give out no more of it than what would be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, 'till he had stripped them of all their Property, and exhausted all his own Stores.
- III. That they might have had Seed Corn, sown their Lands, and raised a fresh Supply sooner, as well as now, had their Landlord suffered it; and that this engrossing and monopolizing all the Corn, was the Cause or Means of the Famine's lasting so long.

I. I say 'tis false, that *Joseph at first engrossed and monopolized all the Corn*. By *at first* he means, I presume, during the Seven Years of Plenty, when he took up the Fifth Part of the Produce of the Country; and by *engrossing and monopolizing*, his criminally procuring or purchasing that Corn, in a Manner inconsistent with the publick Welfare, and with a Design to make his own private Advantage at the common Cost. Now in this Sense, I say *Joseph* did not engross and monopolize all, or any Part of the Corn. For according to the History, he took up but *the fifth Part* of it. * *Let Pha-*

* Gen. xli. 34.

raoh appoint Officers over the Land, and take up the fifth Part of the Land of Egypt, was Joseph's Advice to the Egyptian King, and such Advice as was approved by Pharaoh, and all his Court. * *And the Thing was good in the Eyes of Pharaoh, and in the Eyes of all his Servants.* Now this fifth Part was such a Proportion as the Egyptians could well spare, without any Injury to themselves, or the least endangering a Scarcity amongst them; for notwithstanding the fifth Part of the Produce was laid up Yearly, throughout all the Cities of Egypt, in the publick Granaries, yet the Egyptians had Plenty for themselves, and for Seed Corn, all the Seven Years of Plenty; and if there had been no extraordinary Famine ensued, this Conduct of Joseph's could never have been called *monopolizing or engrossing*, however he had disposed of his Fifth, because the Publick would have had enough, and therefore he could not have made his own private Advantage of it at the general Cost. And that this taking up the fifth Part, during the Years of Plenty, was an Impost that the People could well bear, and that therefore 'twas reasonable in itself, and a Proportion that was wisely and equitably adjusted, appears to a Demonstration; from Joseph's making it a perpetual Law, that this fifth Part should be the Crown's, throughout all succeeding Ages. Besides, Joseph's fifth Part only, under his pru-

* Gen. xli. 37.

dent Regulation, was sufficient to relieve, not only the *Egyptians* during the Famine, but other Countries also, that bought of him. Another fifth Part, therefore, with the same prudent OEconomy, would have been equally sufficient in their Hands, to have supplied themselves for the same Term of Years, without their buying of, or being beholden to *Joseph*. But instead of one Fifth, they had *four Fifths* remaining in their Possession, *i. e.* Corn enough to maintain them for Seven or Eight and Twenty Years together, had there been no Seed-Time or Harvest all that while. And therefore the Scarcity they soon felt, must be owing, some how or other, to themselves, but not to *Joseph's* monopolising or Engrossment of the Corn. For how could he monopolise, when he left them such a large Abundance? How did he engross, when they themselves were in Possession of such extraordinary Plenty? 'Tis from hence evident to a Demonstration, that *Joseph* can never be charged with monopolising and *engrossing all the Corn*, upon Account of the Quantity he laid up, during each of the Seven Years of Plenty, in the King's Magazines, because this had no possible Tendency to create any Scarcity in the Country, and was no Cause of its Beginning or Continuance.

Nor did *Joseph* do it from any private View of making his own particular Advantage of it, at the publick Cost. No, he acted from a Spirit of true Patriotism, and Regard to the Prosperity

Prosperity of Egypt. * *That Food*, says he to Pharaoh, *shall be for Store to the Land, against the Seven Years of Famine, which shall be in the Land of Egypt, that the Land perish not thro' the Famine.* 'Twas to save the Country from absolute Ruin, and not to impoverish it, that he gave the Advice; and as 'twas impossible for him to foresee how far the giving it might turn out to his own Advantage, and put him into a Condition to make his Fortune by it, 'twas as impossible that his original View in it could be his own particular Interest. But if *Pharaoh's* Dreams had any Reality in them, and *Joseph* was persuaded in his own Mind, that Seven such Years of Famine should come upon the Land of *Egypt*, his taking up the fifth Part of the Corn was so far from any criminal View of engrossing it, that 'twas an Act of great Prudence and necessary Compassion, and to which *Egypt*, and other Countries, owed the Preservation of their very Beings; or in the Words of *Justin*, the Epitomator of † *Trogus Pompeius*; *all Egypt must have perished by Famine, unless, by his Advice, the King had ordered Corn to be laid up for many Years.* Had this been neglected by *Joseph*, when, as the foremention'd ‡ *Writer* observes, *he foresaw the Barrenness of the Country many Years before it happened*, would he not

* Gen. xli. 36.

† Periisset omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex Edicto servari per multos annos fruges jussisset. *Justin.* l. 36. c. 2.

‡ Sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos provideret. *Id. Ib.*

have been justly chargeable with all the Ruins and Miseries that must have been the Consequences of it, and would not every one have condemned so scandalous and criminal a Negligence? And shall the Man be charged with monopolising and engrossing all the Corn of *Egypt*, for a Conduct so highly necessary in Point of Prudence and Justice; and some Thousand Years after, be reproached with the infamous Characters of *Forestaller and Destroyer of Egypt*, merely for his Benevolence, to which the *Egyptians* themselves acknowledged that they owed the very saving of their Lives?

Probably it may be said, that *Joseph* should not have taken up this fifth Part of the Corn, and put it in the King's Magazines, but left it in the Hands of the original Possessors, and that the Famine would have been as well provided against, by this Means, as by the other. But the Event shewed, that *Joseph's* Advice was good, and his Precaution absolutely necessary; and that *Egypt* would have been undone without it. For 'tis certain in Fact, that the *Egyptians* Corn was all gone, either toward the latter End of the second, or the Beginning of the third Year of the Famine, because they then purchased their Corn from *Joseph*. And Mr. *Chapman* thinks, that this was owing to a very profuse and criminal Waste of it, * and to great Carelessness and Riot. It may be so; but yet, as Corn doth not afford, of itself, much Room

* Euseb. 2d Vol. Pref.

for rioting, I think the speedy Consumption of it may be accounted for, in a great Measure, a much better Way, and that is, by the *vast Exports* made of it to other Nations.

The * natural Fertility of *Egypt* was always peculiarly remarkable, and from the most early Times, they exported the Produce of their Country. † *Isocrates* tells us, “ That *Egypt* “ was so eminently happy in the Nature and “ Goodness of its Soil, and the Multitude of its “ Fields, that they seemed to enjoy the Happiness of a Continent; and that by the Sale or “ Exportation of its Produce, and the Importation of what it wanted, by Means of the “ River, they inhabited an Island.” And this Account is confirmed by a more unquestionable Authority, that of *Isaiah* ‡, who in his Prophecy against *Tyre*, says, *And the Seed of Sichor by many Waters, the Harvest of the River is her Revenue*, i. e. The Corn of *Egypt*, produced by the overflowing of the *Nile*, the Harvest caused by the Waters of that River, she (*Tyre*) hath in such Plenty, as tho’ ’twas her own Produce, or paid her as an Yearly Revenue.

* Solum ita fecundum, ut alimentorum in usum hominum nulla terra feracior fuerit. *Justin.* l. 2. c. 1.

† Εἰς τοσαυτὴν δ' υπερβουλὴν εὐδαιμονίας ηἵκσιν, ὥστε τῇ μεν ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῷ πλεονεξίᾳ τῶν πεδίων, ὑπείρου καρπενται. τῇ δὲ τῶν ὀντῶν διαδεσσεῖ, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐλλείποντων κομίδῃ, διὰ τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτῆς δύναμιν, ἵπτον οἰκίσιν. *Iloc. Laudat. Bähr.* p. 224. Edit. H. Steph.

‡ *Isai.* xxiii. 3.

'Tis well known, * that large Quantities of Corn were yearly exported from *Egypt* to *Rome*, which was a kind of Granary to that Imperial City. *Pliny* †, in his *Panegyrick* on *Trajan*, says, “ ’Twas a very ancient Tradition, that “ *Rome* could not be maintained and supported, “ but by the Riches of *Egypt* ; and that That “ vain and insolent Nation boasted of their feeding that conquering People ; and that their “ Plenty or Famine depended on their River, “ and was in their Hands.” ‡ *Augustus Cæsar*, when he reduced it into a Province, cleansed all their Canals, that the Country might be more fruitful, and better capable of supplying *Rome* with Provisions. Many other Authorities might be produced on this Head, were it needful : But these are abundantly sufficient to shew, that the *Egyptians* were great Exporters of Corn, even in the most ancient Times. And as the Seven Years of extraordinary Plenty enabled them to make larger Exportations than usual, there is no Room to doubt but they made their own Ad-

* *Augustus* — seposuit *Ægyptum*, ne fame urgeret *Italiam*, quisquis eam provinciam, claustraque terræ et maris, quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus infedisset. *Cor. Tacit. Annal. l. 2. § 59. Edit. Gronov.*

† Percrebuerat antiquitus, urbem nostram nisi opibus *Ægypti* ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen ; quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra, vel fames esset. *Plin. Paneg. in Trajan. c. 31. Edit. Delph.*

‡ *Ægyptum*, in provinciæ formam redactam, ut feraciorem habilioremque annonæ urbi redderet, fossas omnes, in quas *Nilus* exæstuat, oblimatas longa vetustate, militari opere deterfit. *Suet. August. c. 18. Edit. Pitisc.*

vantage

vantage of it; especially as the Famine reached to all the neighbouring Countries, and must have been much sooner felt in them than in *Egypt*, as there is no Account that they had any preceeding Years of extraordinary Plenty as *Egypt* had, nor laid in any Stock against the Scarcity as *Joseph* did. And this is abundantly intimated by the sacred Historian, who observes, that the seven Years of Dearth began to come, * *and the Dearth was in all Lands, but in all the Land of Egypt there was Bread*, viz. after the Famine was begun in other Countries. This drew large Numbers of other Nations thither to purchase Corn; and there is no Reason to doubt, but that the *Egyptians* took the Advantage of selling their large Stocks to them, whilst their own Plenty lasted, to enrich themselves at their Cost; either knowing nothing how long the Famine was to last, or without troubling themselves about it, making Use of the present Opportunity, as the generality of Men in all Ages have done, without a due Regard to, or Provision for Futurity. It was no Wonder that by such large Sales, the common Stock of Corn in *Egypt* should be exhausted in about two Years, and the *Egyptians* themselves be in want of Bread; nor is there any Reason to think but that they would have gone on selling, or wasting it to the End, had they been in possession of the whole Produce of the Country; especially as they would have had the Tempta-

* Gen. xli. 54.

tion of exorbitant Prices for it from the neighbouring Nations. And therefore it became a necessary Duty of the *Egyptian* King, and of *Joseph* under him, to guard against the seven Years of Famine, that they knew were coming on the Land, and to lay in such a Store as might at all Events be sufficient for the Peoples Supply during the Continuance of it. Whilst it remained in their keeping, it was a certain Security against the People's perishing; in private Hands, that Security must be wanting. And as he was provident enough to lay it in, he had Prudence sufficient to distribute it in such Proportions, as the length of the Scarcity, and the People's Necessities required, and therefore his collecting in the Fifth for the publick Use, was so far from being in any View of it, *a monopolizing or engrossing of the Corn*, that it was an Instance of great Prudence, and necessary Concern for the Good of *Egypt*; and if the History had informed us, that *Joseph*, who foretold the Famine, had not taken this Precaution against it, but suffered the whole Country to perish for want of it, I doubt not but my Philosopher would have exclaimed against his Negligence, and represented him as the Cause of its Destruction.

How *Joseph* collected in *this fifth* Part of the Corn, is not expressly said; though from the Manner of his Advice to the King, it seems to have been done *by the royal Authority*, and collected as an Impost or Tax by the King's Officers,

ficers, on every Man's Estate. * *Let Pharaoh look out a Man discreet and wise, and set him over the Land of Egypt. Let Pharaoh make and appoint Officers over the Land, and take up the fifth Part of the Land of Egypt, in the seven plenteous Years, and let them gather all the Food of those good Years that come, and lay up Corn under the Hand of Pharaoh.* The Words we render, *take up the fifth Part*, חמֵשׁ, refers to *Pharaoh*, and the literal Translation of it is : *Let him (Pharaoh) Fifth the Land of Egypt; exact the fifth Part of its Produce.* † Thus יַעֲשֶׂה, *he will tythe*, take the tenth Part of the Sheep, or exact every Tenth from you. ‡ חֲרַעְכֶם וְרִמְיֶכֶם יַעֲשֶׂה, *he will exact the Tenth of the Vineyards and of the Seed.* So that it seems by the Form of the Expression to have been an *Act of the Prerogative*, and that *Joseph* acted in it only by virtue of the royal Authority. And if the *Egyptians* were thus under the Power of their Kings, as by this Instance they seem to have been, the Prerogative exerted in this Instance was wisely exerted, and even necessary to the Saving the whole People. Or if *Joseph* bought up the fifth Part with the King's Money, during the Time of such immense Plenty, he did no Injury this Way to the Proprietors, but a real Benefit ; since 'twas a fair Purchase, and purchased for Money, for their own Benefit and Preservation; and not by way of *monopolizing* or *engrossing* to create a Scarcity, but to prevent the dreadful Effects of a seven Years

* Gen. xli. 33, 34, 35. † 1 Sam. viii. 17. ‡ 1 Sam. viii. 15.

Famine, that he knew from God was coming on the Country. And upon the whole, I appeal to all the impartial and unprejudiced Part of Mankind, whether the Philosopher's Charge on *Joseph*, of *engrossing and monopolising* ALL THE CORN, be not inconsistent with all Candour, and Humanity, *false in Fact*, and contrary to the express Letter of the Historian. If the *Egyptians* had husbanded their four Fifths as they should have done, *Egypt* had enjoyed a perpetual Plenty throughout the Famine, and would have had enough besides to have enriched themselves by the Spoils of their Neighbours; and therefore the after Distress of the Famine could be in no Sense ascribed to him, but to the People's Conduct, which it doth not appear to have been in his Power to prevent. And as his buying up the Corn did not produce the Scarcity, or the Miseries that attended it, 'tis the highest Injustice, and argues the most malevolent Disposition, to traduce one of the noblest Instances of Forecast, Providence and Generosity that is recorded in History, with the odious and criminal Names of *engrossing and monopolising*; in a Word, to charge the Conduct, which sacred and prophane History represents as *the Salvation of Egypt*, to be the Means of its *Impoverishment, Slavery and Destruction*.

2. There is as little Ground for his farther Charge, that *Joseph* was resolved for such a Time, to give out no more of the Corn, that what would be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, but to let the *Egyptians* have no Corn for

Seed, till he had stript them of all their Property, and exhausted all his own Stores. This also proceeds from the same Stock of philosophical Generosity and Charity, that is not kind, that behaves itself unseemly, that is easily provoked, that thinketh all Evil, that rejoiceth not in the Truth, but rejoyceth in Iniquity, that bears nothing, believeth nothing, hopes nothing, endureth nothing, but suspects, inventeth, and chargeth all Things. For,

1. How came this Philosopher to be so very sure, that *Joseph* was resolved to give them no more Corn, than what would be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth? How came he so certainly to know, how much Money the Egyptians gave *Joseph*, and how much Corn he gave them in exchange for it? This methinks looks like a Piece of Knowledge above his Understanding, and which I am sure he can never attain, without the Help of *Pharaoh's* Magicians. And yet this he must be perfectly acquainted with to make good his Assertion, that *Joseph* would give no more but what would be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth. *Joseph* might, for all that he can tell, give them the full Value of their Money and Cattle in Corn, and enough too with prudent Management for Seed, if the Season had proved such, as would have allowed them to sow it. What there is relating to this Subject in the sacred History, carries no Reflection on *Joseph's* Conduct. 'Tis said, that * *he opened all the Store-*

* Gen. xli. 56. — xlvii. 17.

*houses, and sold unto the Egyptians, and when he had gathered up the Money, he gave them Bread in exchange for their Cattle, as much as was necessary to feed them and their Cattle for a whole Year; and as * Mr. Le Clerc justly observes, there could not be a great Number of their Cattle left, because there was no Pasturage for them, and therefore the Value of the Cattle was exceeded by that of the Corn. If therefore they had the full Worth of their Money and Cattle in Provision, Joseph's Distribution was just and equitable, whether what they had was more or less. If they could purchase a larger Quantity they had it; if they could not, enough for Subsistence was all they could desire or expect. Joseph was unquestionably provident enough so to husband his Corn, as to make it last during the whole seven Years of Famine, and to suffer as little of it as he could to be wasted, by any Means whatsoever. The utmost Prudence and OEconomy in the Supplies he distributed was a Work both of Necessity and Mercy; and if the Philosopher means, by Joseph's letting the Egyptians have no more Corn, than was necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, that he gave them only what was sufficient for their Support, but allowed them none to waste, 'tis a Commendation of Joseph's Prudence, instead of what he designs it, a reproach upon his*

* Non multum potuit esse pecus reliquum — itaque sine dubio primum pecoris annonæ pretio superabatur. Cleric. in Gen. xlvii.

Character. Or if he means, that he gave them enough for Bread only, but none for Seed, this also *may be* true, though 'tis more than he can prove; because he certainly knew there would be no Seed-time for full seven Years, and that therefore the giving them Seed would have been no real Advantage to them. If he means that he defrauded them of their Money and Cattle, by giving them small Quantities of Corn, not equal to the Value of either, 'tis a false and unrighteous Calumny, which he himself knows he is not capable of proving.

2. When he says, that *Joseph* was resolved for SUCH A TIME to give them no more Corn, than was just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, 'tis, beyond his usual Prudence, extremely cautious. *For such a Time!* 'Tis pity, amongst his other notable Revelations, he could not have blessed the World with this Discovery, how long a Time, *such a Time* was. Was there any Famine? How long did it last, if not seven Years? But it unfortunately happens the whole Secret was not whispered to him. Could he have hit of this too, I should have been almost apt to have said of him, like *Pharaoh* of *Joseph*: *Can we find such a one as this, a Man in whom is the Spirit of the Gods?* But where is the Man that knows every Thing? It is more than any one in the World besides himself could have told us, that *Joseph* engrossed and monopolized all the Corn of *Egypt*, and thereby kept the *Egyptians* in a starving Condition for any Time.

3. When he adds, that he *was resolved to let them have no Corn for Seed, till he had stripped them of all their Property, and exhausted all his own Stores*; this also is, like the rest, mere philosophical Conjecture and Calumny. It evidently appears from the History, that *Joseph* gave them Corn for Seed as soon as they demanded it; and that the Reason why he withheld it from them before, was not that *infamous one* which he suggests, a premeditated Design absolutely to impoverish them, but because he * knew that the Famine would absolutely prevent sowing or reaping for seven whole Years; a Circumstance of which every † *Egyptian* was as good a Judge as *Joseph*, because the *Nile* itself must annually determine it. If the *Egyptians* saw that the *Nile* did not overflow, according to its usual Height, they knew that the sowing their Lands would be either impossible, or to no manner of Purpose. And therefore why should they demand Seed-Corn? Or if they had demanded it, *Joseph* ought in Justice to the Kingdom to have withheld it from them. Whatever were the Profits in Money made by the Sale of the Corn, 'tis evident from the History, that *Joseph* reserved none of them to himself; for when he had gathered up all the

* Gen. xlv. 6.

† Εξαποσελλασιν εις τας πολεις επισολας, διασαφηνις ποσας πηχεις η ποτες δακτυλους αναβειηκεν ο ποταμος — το δε πληθος των εσομενων καρπων ευθυς απαντες προεγνωνασι. Diodor. l. 1. p. 33.

Money, that was found in the Lands of *Egypt* and *Canaan*, 'tis exprefly faid, that * *he brought the Money into Pharaoh's Houfe*. † *Philo's Account* of this is unquestionably the Truth: “ That though the Circumftances of the Time gave him many Opportunities to heap up Riches for himfelf, fo that he might have been the moft wealthy Perfon of his Age ; yet all the Gold and Silver he collected, as the Price of the Corn, he brought into the royal Treafury, without any Refervations to himfelf, being contented with the Favours with which the King rewarded him ;” a Circumftance fo much to *Joseph's* Honour, and that fo intirely deftroys the Suggeftion, that he prolonged the Famine merely to exhaust the *Egyptians*, and enrich himfelf, that the Philofopher hath no Way to prevent it, but by *the silly Suppofition*, that the King's Coffers ‡ *were now become Joseph's own* ; for Proof of which he fhamelefly cites, *Gen. xlvii. 14.* though there be not one Word in that Paffage, that gives the leaft Intimation of it, and though it is evidently added by the Historian, as a Demonftration of *Joseph's* Honour and Fidelity.

* *Gen. xlvii 14.*

† Ο δε νεανίας τοσαυτή πίσεως εχρησαίτο υπερβολή, ωσε των καιρών κ' πραγματών εις αργυρισμον παρεχούτων πλείστας οσας αφορμας, δυναθείς δι' ολίγη πλεσιώϊατος των κατ' αυτον γενέσθαι — απάντα τον αργυρον κ' χρυσον. οσον εκ της τιμης ηδροισε τε σίτε, εν τοις βασιλειωσ εθησαυριζέτο ταμείοις, εδεμίαν δραχμην νοσφισαμενος αλλα μοναις αρκεθείς ταις δωρεαις, αις αμειβομενος εκεινος αντεχαρισάτο. *Phil. de Joseph. p. 438, 439.*

‡ *Vol. 3. p. 18.*

As to *Joseph's* demanding *their Cattle*, upon the Failure of their Money, I hope this Part of his Conduct hath been abundantly vindicated already ; and that it appears that this Demand was made by him, not to strip them of this Part of their Property, but to preserve it for them ; and that therefore this could never be any Reason, why he withheld the Seed from them for so long a Time, *viz.* that he might secure to himself the Possession of it. Nor could he have any farther Views hereby to make himself Master of the Country, and to force the *Egyptians* to alienate their Estates in Land ; for possibly it may appear, that they had no real Estates to alienate ; or if they had, *Joseph* had no Inclination to possess them. For had this been his Intention, he would have kept those Lands after they had been resigned to him, and when he had made them Beggars, continued them so, and not re-invested them in all their former Possessions upon so easy and moderate Terms, as we find he afterwards did ; a Circumstance, which though *candidly suppressed* by this honest moral Writer, yet will, I am persuaded, be thought by all impartial Readers a full Confutation of this groundless *philosophical Calumny*, that *Joseph* was resolved to let the *Egyptians* have no Corn for Seed, till he had stript them of all their Property, and exhausted all his own Stores. But

3. 'Tis with equal Truth and Probability he farther asserts that *the Egyptians might have had Seed-*

Seed-Corn, sown their Lands, and raised a fresh Supply sooner, as well as now, had their Landlord suffered it; and that this engrossing and monopolizing at first all the Corn, was the Cause of the Famines lasting in Egypt so long. And this he tells us is the true *Secret* of this long Famine. An admirable Discovery this, if one could but tell how the learned Doctor came by it! But that is another Secret, which he keeps close in his own oracular Bosom; and how much soever he may pride himself in the Curiousness of the Hint, I have some few Exceptions against it, which he must give me leave humbly to propose to his Consideration. For

1. 'Tis expressly contradictory to his former *philosophical Self*: For notwithstanding he now asserts, in order to murder the Character of *Joseph*, that the Egyptians *might have raised a fresh Supply of Corn sooner, had this Landlord and Taskmaster thought fit to have suffered it*; yet in order to secure to himself the Merit of another Discovery, that *all-curious Discovery* of the Original and Rise of Fortresses and strong Holds, he expressly tells us; * that *from Pharaoh's Dream, there was to follow seven Years of great Plenty, and after that, seven Years successively of great Scarcity, Dearth and Famine in Egypt*; and that † *as this seven Years Famine was to be in Egypt, it is evident, that there was a Necessity to fortify and garrison the Towns and Cities where the Corn was kept*; without this Precaution it had been

* V. 3. p. 11.

† p. 13.

impossible

impossible to have prevented the Egyptians themselves from seizing the Corn under so severe a Famine. Now it would be extremely kind if the Philosopher would tell the World, how there were to be seven Years successively of great Scarcity, Dearth and Famine in *Egypt* from *Pharaoh's* Dream, if these same seven Years of Famine, or any of them proceeded only from *Joseph's* Wickedness and Tyranny, when if I remember right, there is not one Word about *Joseph* and his Roguery in *Pharaoh's* two Dreams. Again, if there were not to follow from *Pharaoh's* Dreams seven Years of Famine, then 'tis evident that there was no Necessity to fortify and garrison the Towns and Cities, where the Corn was kept; because the Philosopher draws this Necessity of Fortifications and Garrisons, both from the Severity and Continuance of the Famine; and therefore his Account of the Rise of such Fortifications is impertinent and absurd, because the Occasion he assigns for it, according to him, never subsisted. Or if that Occasion was real, then 'tis mere Calumny and Falshood when he ascribes the Continuance of the Famine to *Joseph's* Ambition and Avarice. Again,

2. The Historian observes, that * *the Dearth was in all Lands*, and that *it was sore in all Lands*, and that *all Countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy Corn*; and particularly that † *the Famine was in the Land of Canaan*. And this the Philosopher allows, and argues from as a

* Gen. xli. 54, 57. † xlii. 5.

Principle. * *There was to follow, says he, from Pharaoh's Dream seven Years successively of great Scarcity, Dearth and Famine, both in Egypt, and the Countries about it; as this seven Years Famine spread not only in Egypt, but through all Countries who were supplied with Corn from Egypt, so far as they could have any Communication, 'tis evident there was a Necessity to fortify and garison the Towns and Cities, where the Corn was kept. Without this Precaution it had been impossible to have prevented other Nations from seizing the Corn, under so general a Calamity.*

Utor permissio—————

Now may I be allowed to ask, how came the Famine to be in *Canaan*, and all the Countries round about it? What made the Calamity so general? What, was the *Hebrew Prophet the Landlord and Taskmaster* of the *Canaanites*, and all the neighbouring Nations, as well as of the *Egyptians*? Did he engross and monopolize all their Corn too, and resolve to give them for a certain Time no more, than what would be just necessary to support their Lives from Hand to Mouth? This is new News from the *Magazine of Intelligence*, more wonderful Wonders of Discovery in the *oriental Antiquities*, from the *philosophical Mint* of Invention. If he doth not like this Account of the Causes of the seven Years Famine in all the Countries round *Egypt*,

let him tell the World how the Calamity became so general in them, and I'll take on me to demonstrate, that it was as real, and of as long continuance in *Egypt*. Or if he chooses to deny, that the Famine lasted seven Years in the Countries bordering upon *Egypt*, let him at the same Time pull down his Fortresses and strong Holds, that he had conjured up, to defend the Corn, upon the Supposition of a seven Years Famine, and undergo the Mortification of not being the Discoverer of the first Instance of them; and he will find me perfectly easy and content. Besides,

3. If the Famine, or the long Continuance of it in *Egypt*, and the neighbouring Countries, was owing to *Joseph's* engrossing the Corn, and his Resolution to let the *Egyptians* have no Seed, 'till he had stript them of all their Property, what becomes of the *Hebrew Historian*, which says he, *I will all along take for my Guide, as designing to keep close to him, and to draw nothing into Consequence, but what must necessarily arise from the Text.* Let us see then, how his Account of the Continuance of the Famine agrees with this Profession, and how we can reconcile *Pharaoh's* Dreams, with all their Consequences, upon Supposition of the Truth of it. His Dreams are well known, and *Joseph's* Interpretation of them; and according to both, there were to be seven Years of Plenty, and these to be followed by seven Years of Famine. Now if the Dreams did not foretel both, they
foretold

foretold neither, and if the Event did not exactly answer in one Case, it did not in the other. If there were not really seven Years of Famine, then were there not seven preceding ones of Plenty. If so, there can be no Proof, that *Pharaoh* had any Dream, or that *Joseph* interpreted his Dreams, or that there were any Years of Famine, or any Years of Plenty, or that there was one single Word of Truth in this whole History. And then the Philosopher hath not let us into the Secret, how the Famine lasted so long, but into the *more curious Secret*, that there was in reality no Famine at all; and thus hath cleared *Joseph* of the Villainy he hath thrown upon him, and proved against himself, that all his Charges are groundless Calumnies.

If any Thing was to follow from *Pharaoh's* Dreams, it was seven Years of Plenty, and seven Years of extraordinary Famine, and that * *all the Plenty should be forgotten in the Land of Egypt*, and that † *the Famine should consume the Land*, and that *the Plenty should not be known in the Land, by Reason of the Famine following*; ‡ *for it was to be very grievous*. But if these Things did follow from *Pharaoh's* Dreams, and if the Event exactly answered to them, then also the Philosopher's Secret, into which he is let himself, and into which he hath let the World, is an *open Falshood*, and his charging the Continuance of the Famine upon *Joseph*, is in this View, as impotent and shameless an Instance of

* Gen. xli. 30. † 31. ‡ 32.

Malice, as in the other. For if *Pharaoh* dreamt the Dreams ascribed to him, and if *Joseph's* Interpretation of those Dreams was right, then neither the Plenty, nor the Famine could have any Dependance on *Joseph's* Contrivance and Management, but were both of them equally Events, that were certainly to come to pass whether *Joseph* would or no.

If the Dreams were both real, and yet foretold nothing, and no correspondent Event happened, *Joseph* would have effectually ruined his Character, and must have been immediatly looked on as *an Imposter* ; for the Things he predicted were, as himself declared, *shortly to come to pass* ; and if they did not accordingly come to pass, this must have spoiled his Credit with the King and Court of *Egypt*, and probably have sent him back to the Jail from whence he had been taken. If the seven Years of extraordinary Plenty did happen according to the Dream, and *Joseph's* Interpretation, but not seven Years of Famine, how came *Joseph* to hit of the Matter so well in the one, and so sadly to fail in the other, as to be reduced to the Necessity, of such infamous Craft and Villainy, as the Philosopher imputes to him, to fulfil his own Predictions ?

Joseph was according to all Accounts, sacred and prophane, a Person of great Sagacity and Prudence. But he must have been the greatest of Fools, to have fixed exactly the Years of Plenty and those of Famine, and to declare that
this

this *should shortly be brought to pass*, if he had not had such a Certainty of the Event, as he knew could not deceive him. When he predicted these Things, 'tis impossible he could ever imagine, that his own Advancement in the *Egyptian* Court should be so sudden or great as it proved, or that he should ever have it in his Power to fulfil his own Prophecy in the Sense the Philosopher hath represented, or be able to foresee, without a Spirit of real Prophecy, what was to happen, or how he should be forced to act, ten or a dozen Years to come. And therefore if he had any Intention or View of rising at the *Egyptian* Court, common Prudence would direct him, not to have predicted Things plainly and circumstantially, as immediatly to come to pass, of which he knew nothing, whether ever, or in what Manner they should happen. And therefore his ascertaining the Duration of the Plenty and Famine can be accounted for on no Principals of Prudence or Policy, but one, *viz.* his absolute Persuasion, that both would certainly come to pass by Causes that he could not over-rule, and that would leave nothing for him to do, to fulfil his own Predictions.

The Philosopher seems to apprehend, there was a Famine of *some Continuance* in *Egypt*, for *the Secret* he lets us into, is not, I think, that there was no Dearth, but only *how it came to last so long*, and that the *Egyptians* might have *had Seed-Corn, and raised a fresh Supply sooner*. Now here the Spirit of Divination fails him, and

how much sooner they might have sown their Lands is a choice Secret into which he cannot or will not let us. I rather suspect *his will*; for what cannot such a Man as he discover? But 'tis Pity he hath denied us this Piece of Information, because till we have it, we may reasonably believe *Moses* as well as *Morgan*, and there will be as much ground to think that *seven poor, very ill-favoured, lean-fleshed Kine*, that eat up the *seven fat Kine*; and *seven Ears, withered, thin and blasted, that devoured the seven good Ears*, do as naturally denote *seven Years of Famine*, as *seven fat Kine* and *seven good Ears*, should denote *seven Years of extraordinary Plenty*; and that therefore the Famine was as real and lasting as the Plenty. And I imagine that this may be made appear almost to a Demonstration.

For, let it be observed, that the first Year of the Dearth, the *Egyptians* must have had the same Plenty of Corn to sow, as they had during any of the preceding Seven, because they had the Produce of the seventh plentiful Year, and the Remains of the former Year's Stock, for their Supply; and therefore the first Year of the Dearth could only affect and relate to the Land, and not the Inhabitants, who might have sowed their Lands, and raised a fresh Supply for the ensuing Year, had it been possible. So that the Beginning of the Famine could not be owing to *Joseph's* withholding the Corn, nor in the least depend on any Contrivance or Management of his. And supposing they were prevented from
sowing

sowing their Lands in *October*, the first Year of the Famine, which is their *Seed-time*, yet there must be still left large Quantities of Corn in *Egypt*, at least in the Hands of the Farmers, *viz.* all that would have otherwise been employed as Seed, with large Remains besides from the former Years Stock, which considering the Plenty of the Crop, would have been abundantly sufficient for the sowing the Lands, *October* the second Year of Famine, for a Supply against the third. Nor could *Joseph* have prevented their sowing the Corn the second Year, had the *Egyptians* found it possible to do it. Now *Joseph* expressly tells his Brethren, * *these two Years hath the Famine been in the Land, and yet there are five Years in which there shall be neither Ear-ing nor Harvest.* But could the *Egyptians* have sowed their Seed at the End of the second Year of Famine, it would have been impossible for *Joseph*, by any Art or Management, to have prevented their Ear-ing or Sowing the five following; because if the Country had been capable of receiving the Seed, they would had Seed in their own Hands to have sown every Year, from the Produce of each; for they might reasonably have expected a proportionable Encrease; the same Circumstance that prepares the Land for sowing, always in *Egypt* securing an answerable Harvest.

The true Reason of the Famine therefore in *Egypt* was, because the *Egyptians* could not

* Gen. xlv. 6.

sow their Lands, not because they wanted Seed to do it. They had enough of this, as hath been shewn, for the two first Years; and if it be considered, that every *Egyptian* in about four Months after Harvest, certainly knows whether there will be any Seed-time or not, 'tis not to be imagined but that the Farmers, some of them at least, upon seeing each Year the Impossibility of sowing, would grow proportionably more saving of their Corn, and that out of such Plenty as the seven Years produced, there would have been some for Seed the fourth and fifth Year of the Famine, had there been any Season for sowing it; a Supposition not at all incredible in itself, nor inconsistent with the Account of the Severity of the Famine. For though it be said, that *all the Land of Egypt was famished*, the most which that Expression means is, that the Dearth was general throughout the whole Country; not that no Person in all *Egypt* had any Corn, which can never be proved to be the Case from the History; there being in all Scarcities, Corn oftentimes in the Hands of private Persons. And as these Persons in *Egypt* would keep up their Corn at a very high Price, or not part with it at all, 'tis highly probable the *Egyptians* applied to *Joseph*, hoping, from the Quantity he had laid up, that he would give it them upon cheaper Terms than others, and supply them *gratis* when they had nothing left to purchase more. And as these Suppositions are built upon Facts and Experience in all like Cases, they render

render it more than probable, that had there been any Seed-time in *Egypt*, there would have been, at least for four or five Years of the Famine, some Corn for Seed, which must have ended or mitigated the Dearth the fifth or sixth. And if, as it appears, the Famine was owing to natural or providential Causes for five or six Years successively, no Man of Candour, I am confident, will, upon a Review of all the Circumstances of the History, object to the Continuance of it from the same Causes for seven.

Besides, if the *Egyptians* could have sown their Seed before the Expiration of the seven Years, and had been prevented only by *Joseph's* Wickedness and Cruelty in withholding from them the Corn, this must have been known to all Orders and Degrees of Men in *Egypt*. But can any one imagine, that *Pharaoh*, and the Nobles, and Priests, and Souldiery of *Egypt* would all have conspired with the Prime Minister, a *Foreigner*, an *Hebrew*, with whom it was an *Abomination* for an *Egyptian* to eat Bread, in such an execrable Attempt to impoverish the People, and continue the Desolation of an universal Famine all over the Kingdom? Or would any Nation in the World, had they been the most *abject Slaves*; would the *Egyptians*, who according to our Philosopher were *the freest Country* then in the World, have ever suffered a Prime Minister to starve their Persons, and impoverish their Lands, and prevent their sowing them, by a Monopoly of Corn, and refusing them Seed

when he had Plenty of it, had there been any Possibility of sowing it; would they have suffered this, I say, without rising in universal Rebellion, and destroying the Contrivers and Authors of such a Mischief? 'Tis the most incredible Supposition in the World that they would have endured it, had not every one of the seven Years of Famine convinced every *Egyptian* in the Kingdom, that it was impossible to sow their Seed.

The Country of *Egypt* is of such a Nature, as that they can have no Seed-time or Harvest, without leave of their own River. Rains * they seldom have any, and in some Part of their Country none, and therefore all their different Sorts of Grain, Wheat, Barley, Rice, &c. are intirely indebted to the Waters of the *Nile* for their Growth and Encrease, which annually overflowing its Banks †, waters the whole Country, and leaves behind it great Quantities of Mud, which enrich the Lands, and prepare

* Ου γὰρ δὴ βέλαι τὰ ἀνω τῆς Αἰγυπτῆ το παραπαν. Herod. 1. 3. c. 10. Rari sunt imbres. Columel. de re rust. 1. 2. c. 12.

† ——— Tellusque natans Ægyptia Nilo
Lenius irriguis insulat corpora campis.

Manil. 1. 4. v. 724, 725. et 1. 3. v. 272, 273.

Ὁργάζεται ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ πῶτος ἐστὶν ἐκ ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ κατε-
ξάνισται τῆς οὐδῆς, καὶ θαλασσωσας τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν, τὴν παροῦσα
γεωργεῖ τὰς ἀρούρας. Heliodor. Æthiop. 1. 2. p. 110. Edit.
Par.

them for Seed. When * the Inundation is over, the Barley and Wheat are thrown upon the Mud, in *October*, which the River every where spreads, and which was anciently trodden in by their Cattle trampling on it, or gently plowed into the Ground, without any farther Trouble to the Husbandman; a Custom that in a great Measure prevails to this Day. If the Inundation fails them, or doth not rise to its usual proper Height, a Dearth must unavoidably follow, and the sowing the Corn becomes impossible, from the Land's being unfit to receive it. Now as the Famine was in other Countries besides *Egypt*, 'tis highly probable 'twas occasioned by an excessive Drought; and this is intimated by *Joseph's* Brethren in their Answer to *Pharaoh*: † *Thy Servants have no Pasture for their Flocks, for the Famine is sore in the Land of Canaan*; a Circumstance that could not in its Nature have become general, but from an excessive Drought. The Famine in *Egypt* was unquestionably owing to the same Cause. For as the Rains which fall

* Της μὲν πλεΐστος τῶν γεωργῶν τοῖς ἀναξήραιοις τοῖς τῆς γῆς τοποῖς ἐρίσαντες, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα βαλλόντας, ἐπαγεῖν τὰ βοσκη-
ματα, καὶ τῆς τοῖς συμπάσης — ἀπαντὰν ἐπὶ τὸν θέρισμον.
Ἐνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ ἀγέρας ἐπαγοντας — σωρὸς ἀναίρεσθαι τῶν καρ-
πῶν. Diod. l. p. 32. Vid. etiam Herod. l. 2. c. 14. Vulgo
credebatur, ab ejus decessu serere solitos mox suos impellere vesti-
giis semina deprimentes in madido solo, et credo antiquitus fac-
titatum. Nunc quoque non multo graviora opera. Sed tamen
inarari certum est abjecta prius semina in limo digressi annis, hoc
est, novembri mense incipiente. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 18. c. 18.

† Gen. xlvii. 4.

in * *Ethiopia* in the Months of *June*, *July* and *August* are known to be the certain Causes of the annual Inundation of the *Nile*; the Failure of those Rains must hinder the Inundation, and thereby prevent the Seed-time in *Egypt*, and introduce a Scarcity, and even an absolute Famine, if the Inundation should discontinue for two or three Years.

That this was the Cause of this Famine, is plainly intimated in the History itself: For *Joseph* tells his Brethren: † *These two Years hath the Famine been in the Land, and yet there are five Years, in which there shall be neither Earing nor Harvest, neither Seed-time or Harvest; a Circumstance that could scarce possibly have happened in Egypt, on any other Account, but the Failure of the usual overflowing of the Nile. For if this happens regularly, 'tis almost necessarily an ensuing Year of Plenty, upon which*

* Φησι γαρ [Agatharchides] καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀθιοπίαν ὁρεσι γίνεσθαι συνεχεῖς ὀμβροὺς ἀπὸ θερῶν τροπῶν μέχρι τῆς μετὰ πόλεως ἰσημερίας. Εὐλογῶς ἐν τῶν Νείλου — κατὰ τὸ θεῖον διὰ τὰς ἐκχευόμενας ὀμβροὺς λαμβάνει τὴν αὐξήσιν. Diod. r. l. i. p. 39. Αὐξέται δὲ κατὰ τὴν θερμὴν ὥραν — τῶν ἀνέμων κατὰ τροπὴν τὴν θερμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημέριαν παν νερὸς ἐλαυρόντων τε καὶ ὠδυνῶν, εἰς ἐπὶ τὴν διακείμενην ζώνην συναΐσσι — τις προσέρειν καὶ κατὰ μικρὴν ἀδρεΐσθαι [ἀδρεΐσθαι] καὶ ταχυδείης νοήδους ἐξέλμειζομένης, καὶ τῆς λαβερῆς ὕδατος ἐγγυμῶν, ἐργάζεται Ὁ Νεῖλος. Heliodor. l. 2. p. 109. 110. Neucham apud Strab. l. 15. p. 1020. Arrian. Hist. Ind. c. 6. Pila. N. H. l. 5. c. 9. See these more ancient Accounts confirmed by later Observations, in Dr. Geddes Church Hist. of Ethiop. c. 5. Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 431, 432.

† Gen. xlv. 6.

Account

Account the *Egyptians* * anciently made great Rejoicings, and continually feasted during the Time the Inundation lasted; and which they do to this Day, crying out, † *God hath given them all they wanted.* And this is the Account given of the Causes of this Famine by almost all Writers I have ever seen, ancient and modern. ‡ *Josephus* tells us: “ That the Famine en-
 “ creased amongst the *Egyptians*, the River
 “ neither rising nor watering the Country, nor
 “ God sending any Rain.” And || *Philo*:
 “ The first seven Years shall come bringing
 “ with them an incredible Plenty, the River
 “ every Year stagnating the Fields with its In-
 “ undations. After this shall come the seven
 “ contrary Years; bringing on a grievous Want,
 “ and Scarcity of all Necessaries, the River nei-
 “ ther diffusing its Waters, nor the Country
 “ being enriched by it;” Accounts these exactly agreeable to that of the *Hebrew* Historian, as may be justly collected from the Passages before mentioned.

* Οι δ' οἱ πολλοὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀπολειψάμενοι τῶν ἐργῶν εἰς ἀνεὴν τρέπονται, συνεχῶς ἐσιώμενοι, καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς πόσιν ἀνηκόντων ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύοντες. *Diodor.* l. 1. p. 33.

† *Dr. Shaws Travels.* p. 437.

‡ Ο δὲ λίμνη τις Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπέλεινε ——— μήτε τε ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐπαρδόν, καὶ γὰρ ἡύξε, μήτε νοτὸν τὸ δεξιόν. *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 7. c. 7.

|| Ἡξει μὲν ἐν ἐπταετία πρῶτα, πολλὴν καὶ ἀφθόρον ἐχούσα εὐκαρπία, πλημμυραῖς μὲν ἀναπνέουσα τὸν ποταμὸν λίμναιζόν, τας ἀρεάς. Ἡξει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐναντία πάλιν ἐπταετία χαλεπὴν ἐνδύειν καὶ σπανίαν τῶν ἀναγκασιῶν ἐπιφέρειν, μήτε ἀναχέμεναι τὸν ποταμὸν, μήτε τῆς γῆς λιπαρομένης. *Phil. de Joseph.* p. 425.

Besides,

Besides, *Joseph* in his Interpretation of *Pharaoh's* Dreams, tells him, with respect to the seven Years of Famine; as well as to those of Plenty, *that God was about to do this, and that the Thing was established by God*; plainly declaring the Famine should *be providential*, and was certainly determined by God himself. And accordingly * *Justin* as well as *Moses* speaks of it as a real, and not artificial Famine, a Famine that lasted many Years, and that *Joseph* was the Preserver of *Egypt* from Destruction by laying up sufficient Stores for them; not the Destroyer of *Egypt* by bringing on them a Famine, by Craft, and Violence and Villainy. And had not the Causes of it been founded in Nature and Providence, *Joseph's* so expressly fixing the exact Continuance of it, must have been the Height of Folly, and for which there could be no possible Inducement, but his Certainty that both those Events would take Place, a Certainty he could have no otherwise, but by Revelation from God, who hath all Events absolutely under his Disposal.

In a Word, every Circumstance of the History confutes the Philosopher's Account of this Famine; nor am I afraid to appeal to any impartial Person in the whole World, which deserves the greater Credit; his *Romance*, which hath no one Authority sacred or prophane to

* Sterilitatem agrorum præviderit, perissetque omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex edicto iervari per multos annos fruges jussisset. *Justin.* l. 2. c. 6. §. 1.

countenance it; or *the Account of Moses*, which hath the concurrent Testimony of other History to confirm it. I need not add, that these *palpable Falsifications* of Facts by this *unhappy Writer*, will make every Reader constantly upon his Guard, how he trusts him in any Thing for the Future; and as he hath forfeited all Credit as an *Historian*, he ought never to appear in Publick again, but in the humble Habit of a *penitent Offender*.

'Tis a Circumstance scarce worth taking notice of, only as it shows this Writer's Negligence, and that he is not to be trusted even in the smallest Matters, when he asserts: * *That in the sixth Year of the Famine their Hebrew Lord gave them Seed-Corn to sow their Lands, it being impossible to reduce them lower, or make them more miserable; but this not having been done till towards the End of the sixth Year, they could have no Produce or Subsistence for themselves, till near the End of the seventh and last Year, which terminated the Famine.* But this is contrary to the Letter of the History, which affirms there were to be seven Years of Dearth; and to what *Joseph* tells his Brethren: † *These two Years hath the Famine been in the Land, and yet there are five Years in which there shall be neither Earing nor Harvest.* So that the *Egyptians* could have no Produce, nor fresh Subsistence from the Country, neither the Beginning nor End of the sixth or seventh Year, unless the Philosopher can find out an

* V. III. p. 19.

† Gen. xlv. 6.

Art to make the Earth produce without Earing or Harvest. The first Seed-time was not to be 'till *October*, nor their first Harvest 'till *March* and *April* in the Eight. But from hence we may very strongly infer, that the Length of this Famine was not owing to *Joseph's* detaining the Seed-Corn from them. For if they could not be more miserable than they were at the End of the sixth Year, there could be no possible Inducement to make him continue the Famine any longer; and therefore the Continuance of it for the Seventh was not owing to him, but to a Cause not in his Power to prevent. And upon the whole, I think it must appear evident, to every unprejudiced Reader, from these Observations, that our Philosopher's Secret, about the Continuance of this Famine, instead of being a Discovery to the learned World, turns out a mere *senseless Tale*, that shews nothing but want of Genius, Learning, Integrity and Candour, and that *Joseph* is not in the least chargeable with that Villainy which he fixes on him.

S E C T. X.

Of Joseph's enslaving the Egyptians.

OUR Philosopher, determined to bless the present and future Ages with some new Discoveries in every Subject he treats of, hath given himself *great Airs* in speaking of the Liberties and free Constitution of the ancient *Egyptians*.

tians. He tells us, that the Incident of *Joseph's* Advancement * *laid the Foundation of the Ruine of Egypt, and reduced the finest, richest, and freest Country then in the World, to a State of Misery, Poverty and Vassalage. It proved the intire Overthrow of a free Constitution, and introduced such an absolute Power both in Church and State, as had never been known in the World before.* And all this he delivers with as much Confidence, as if there were unquestionable Vouchers for this *secret History*, and the *Egyptian Constitution* in Church and State at that Time was as well known, as the *British* is now; though at the same Time, his Learning furnishes him with no Authorities on this Head, and he doth not so much as pretend to bring even a Shadow of an Argument in Proof of his Assertions.

But if his own Account of *Joseph's* Conduct be true, and the Intimations given us by the sacred Historian, and other Writers, be duly considered, his Encomiums of the *Egyptian Liberties* will have no Foundation, nor deserve any Credit. For if they were that free Nation he represents, 'tis impossible they should have suffered a *Prime Minister, a Foreigner, an Hebrew,* to have done, what he tells us *Joseph* did, and what they in the Beginning might have easily prevented his doing. He affirms that he engrossed and monopolized all the Corn, and that he starved the Country, and prolonged the Famine by keeping the Seed from the Inhabitants; Cir-

* Vol. III. p. 11.

cumstances that don't look very favourable, or seem so very consistent with a perfectly free Constitution. Let a Prime Minister in this Kingdom, who is a *Frenchman*, or one in *France* who is a *Britain*, engross the Corn in either of these Kingdoms, and create or prolong a Famine by such monopolizing, and hinder the Farmers hereby from sowing their Lands in a good Season, and I can easily foresee his Fate, without any Assistance of the Spirit of Prophecy.

Again, he says, that *Joseph* fortified and garrisoned the Towns and Cities, and strongly fortified the Magazines and Storehouses, and that these Fortresses and strong Holds was an Instance of absolute and arbitrary Power, and that by this *Joseph* enslaved *Egypt*. And yet it seems the People and the Constitution were free under the Exercise of this absolute and arbitrary Power, and either did not preserve it, or made no Resistance to it. Let a Prime Minister, or even a *Prince*, try to fortify Cities, erect Citadels, and spread numerous Garrisons all over *Great Britain*, by their arbitrary Power, *without Leave of Parliament*, and I hope I shall be able to read their Destinies, long before the Work is half brought to its Conclusion, and the Nation settled under full Slavery by it. Again, *Joseph's* Advice to *Pharaoh* was : *Let Pharaoh appoint Officers over the Land, and let him fifth the Land of Egypt. And the Thing was good in the Eyes of Pharaoh, and Joseph gathered up all the Food of the seven Years, and laid it up in the Cities.* Doth the
Philosopher

Philosopher imagine that such a Piece of Advice to a *British* Prince would *seem good* in the Eyes of all the good People of *Great Britain*, or that they would not sooner part with their Lives, than submit to such a wicked and arbitrary Impost, if a Prince or Prime Minister should arbitrarily endeavour to levy it? We almost remember the Time, when a much less Thing than this cost one Prince and his Minister their Lives; and well remember the Time, when it cost another his Crown and Kingdom.

Again, *Pharaoh*, when he heard of *Joseph's* Father and Brethren, commanded him to bid his Brethren to bring * *their Father and whole Household* into *Egypt*, adding, *I will give you the good of the Land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the Fat of the Land. Also regard not their Stuff: The good of all the Land of Egypt is yours.* And after their Descent *Pharaoh* further Commands: *The Land of Egypt is before thee: In the best of the Land make thy Father and Brethren to dwell, in the Land of Goshen let them dwell.* This surely looks like the Language of an arbitrary Prince, who had an absolute Dominion over his Subjects and their Country. Our † Philosopher out of special Grace to the *Hebrews*, very bountifully enlarges this Grant, and tells us that very probably *Jacob's* whole Family was above two Thousand strong, and that therefore an whole Province, and that the finest and richest in all his Dominions, was assigned them, to live separate by

* Gen. xlv. 18.

† V. III. p. 15.

themselves in their own Way. Excellent free Constitution this, in which the Prince by his own Prerogative can bestow a whole Province, and that the finest and richest in his Kingdom, on Foreigners, because related to his Prime Minister! What would the free People of *Great Britain* think, or how would they behave themselves, to see the richest County in the Kingdom thus disposed of, and two or three Thousand Foreigners, in Complaisance to some Prime Minister, introduced into the Estates of the former Possessors.

Pharaoh's seizing *Abraham's* Wife, was evidently the arbitrary Action of a tyrannical Prince. His hanging up the chief Baker, and restoring the chief Butler, seem to be mere Acts of Power, as well as his first Imprisonment of them *in his Wrath*. His advancing *Joseph* in an Instant, a mere Stranger, to the first Dignity of his Kingdom, and to a Power superior to all the Princes of *Egypt*, was a Thing that would not have been endured in a free Constitution, but was exactly suitable to an arbitrary Government, and to the usual Practice of the Tyrants in the East, who raised whom they pleased, without Regard to Nation or Family. But especially, that royal Language to *Joseph*: * *I am PHARAOH: And without thee shall no Man lift up his Hand or Foot in all the Land of Egypt, and according to thy Word shall all my People be ruled*; is such a Demonstration of the Egyptian Li-

* Gen. xli. 40, 44.

berty, such a flagrant Proof of the Freedom of their Constitution, as renders all farther Demonstration unnecessary. In like manner, when all the Land of *Egypt* was famished, and the People *cried to Pharaoh for Bread*; the Monarch dismisses them in princely Stile: * *Go to Joseph, what he says to you, do.* Blessed Country of Liberty, where the Command of the Prince, and the Word of the Prime Minister, are the only Laws of Government ! If I might therefore be allowed to differ from this learned Antiquarian, I should be apt to imagine from these Passages, that *Egypt* was in that State, which † *Justin* tells us, all Nations antiently were, who *were governed by no Laws*, i. e. by no stated, certain or written Laws, but to whom the Wills of their Princes were instead of all Laws ; and that *Joseph* did not make the *Egyptians* Slaves, but found them so ; and that his Charge, that *Joseph* kept the Seed-Corn from them, in order to enslave them, is *groundless Calumny*, and hath no other Foundation than *philosophical Ignorance* or Confidence.

The Account given by ‡ *Artapanus* of the Condition of the *Egyptians* before *Joseph's* Coming amongst them, *when the lower People were*

* Gen. xli. 55.

† Principio rerum ——— Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: Arbitria principum pro legibus erant. Justin. l. i. c. i.

‡ Τῶν ελασσοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν χρεισσοῶν ἀδικημένων. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 23.

oppressed by the higher, is irreconcilable with a free Constitution and Government. * *Josephus*, in answer to *Ation's* Boast, that the *Egyptians* obtained this singular Bounty from the Gods, who were saved in *Egypt*, by transforming themselves into the Shapes of Brutes, that they were never in Subjection to the Kings of *Asia* or *Europe*; immediately subjoins, that *they don't appear ever to have enjoyed their Liberty in any past Ages for one single Day*; no, not under their own Princes. The Truth is, that in these very early Times, there don't appear to be any settled and fixed Constitutions by standing Laws, bounding the Power of Princes, and ascertaining the Liberties of the People, amongst any Nations. † *Plato*, in his *Treatise of Laws*, tells us; that in those early Times after the Flood, they needed no Lawgivers, nor was any such kind of Thing in use amongst them. For in this Period they had no Letters or Writing, but they lived in Conformity to the Manners and traditionary Laws of their Forefathers; or they

* Εξαίρετον γέρας ευροντο το μηδενι δελευεν των της Ασιας η της Ευρωπης κρατησαντων, οι μιν ημεραν εκ τε παντος αιωνος ελευθερίας η τυχοίητες φαινοίηαι, αλλ' εδε παρ των οικοδεσποτων. *Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 2. § 11.*

† Αρ εν εχονοι μεν ετ' εδεντο νομοδετων, ελε πω εφιλε κατὰ τέλος τις χρονος γινεσθαι το τοιαυτον. Ουδε γαρ γραμματα εστι πω τοις εν τετω τω μερει της περιου γεγονασιν, αλλ' εδεσι χ' τοις λεγομενοις πατρικοις νομοις επομενοι ζων. *Plat. de Leg. l. 2. p. 680.*

were

were governed, as * *Josephus* expresses it, by the best Advices and Commands of their several Kings, and had no other Laws but unwritten Customs, continually changing them according to the different Circumstances that arose. This was a Thing so certain amongst the oldest *Greeks*, that as *Josephus* rightly observes the Word νομος, signifying a Law, was not anciently known amongst them, and that *Homer* hath no where once used it in his Poems, for that there was no such Thing in his Time. He saith farther, that *Moses* was the most ancient Lawgiver, and that this was acknowledged by those who gave themselves the utmost Liberty in reproaching the *Jews* on other Accounts. And therefore the Philosopher, who talks of the free Constitution of *Egypt*, in the Times of *Joseph*, so long before *Moses*, talks of a Thing not in being in the World, in all probability, 'till many Years after.

But then it must be observed to *Joseph's* eternal Honour, that when he restored their Lands to the *Egyptians*, and ordered a perpetual πη Statute, Ordinance or Law, that their Property should be absolute in four Fifths of their Produce, and that the King should have only the remaining One, he was the first who limited

* Οπως μινδ' αυλο τενομα παλαι εγινωσκετο τε νομος παρὰ τοις Ελλησι· κ' μαρτυρ Ομηρος, εδωκε της ποιησας αυτω χρησασμενθ. Ουδε γαρ ην κατὰ τερον, αλλα γνωμαις αεισιν τα πληρη διακετο, κ' προσασμασι των βασιλεων. Αφ' ε κ' μεχει πολλε διεμενανε δεσιν ασεφους χωμενοι, κ' παλλα τελων αι προς το συνισχυανον μεταπτενεις. Ο δε ημετερος νομοθετης, αρχαιοτατο.
 κ. τ. λ. Cont. ap. 1. 2. c. 5.

the Power of their Princes, and settled the Properties and Liberties of the People, upon the certain Foundation of an irrevocable Law. And this very Circumstance seems to be confirmed by * *Diodorus Siculus*, who amongst other Instances of the Happiness and good Government of *Egypt*, mentions this: That the People were not oppressed with Taxes, and that *the Husbandmen*, who were one of the three Classes of the common People of *Egypt*, *rented their Lands at a small Price of the King, the Priests, and the Soldiers, and thus were wholly employed in the Culture of the Ground*; thus perpetually holding their Lands of the King and great Men, for a small acknowledgment, agreeable to *Joseph's* Constitution. And though our Philosopher, to move the Indignation of his Reader against *Joseph*, in tragical Accents complains, that *Joseph ruined Egypt, overthrew their free Constitution, and reduced them to a State of Misery, Poverty and Vassalage*; yet the *Egyptians* themselves, who knew *Joseph's* Conduct, and understood the Nature of his Grant, at least full as well as the Philosopher, had quite other Sentiments of the Matter, and gratefully acknowledged his Care of them, and generosity to them. † *Thou hast saved our Lives: Let us find Grace in the Sight*

* Τους δὲ ἰδιώτας διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν εὐποριῶν ἔ βασιλίζονταί ταις εὐπορίαις

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ κωργοὶ μικρὰ πινθὶ τὴν καρποφόρον χώραν τὴν παρὰ τὰ βασιλεῖας καὶ πονιρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσχιμῶν μισθόμενοι. διαλεχσάμενοι τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρεὼν περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας. Diodor. l. 1. p. 67.

† Gen. xlvii. 25.

of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's Servants.

* *Josephus* gives the true Explication of this Affair. “ That when the Famine ceased, and
 “ the River overflowed the Country, *Joseph*
 “ went to the several Cities, and calling to-
 “ gether the Multitude, kindly restored them
 “ their Lands intirely, which they had yielded
 “ to the King, and which he might have kept,
 “ and enjoyed the Fruits of ; and exhorted them
 “ to look on it as their own, and therefore to
 “ till it with Chearfulness, paying as an Ac-
 “ knowledgment for them the Fifth of the Fruits
 “ to the King. And that the *Egyptians*, seeing
 “ themselves beyond their Hopes restored to
 “ the Property of their Lands, greatly rejoiced,
 “ and executed his Orders. And that by this
 “ Means *Joseph* secured to himself greater Ef-
 “ teem and Authority amongst the People, and
 “ to the King greater Affection and Goodwill.”
 † *Philo* also remarks, that “ the Country being
 “ restored to its former Abundance, the Peo-
 “ ple were glad, all of them honoured *Joseph*,

* Την γην αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐκεῖνων παρὰ χρόνων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν
 ἐδύνατο καὶ καρπεῖσθαι μόνον, οὐκ ἄπαν ἐχαιρίζετο, καὶ κτήμα ἰδίον
 ἡσυχόμενος φιλέειν παρεκάλει — Τὸς δὲ παρ’ ἐλπίδας κρείως τῆς
 γῆς καθίσταμενος χάρα τε λαμβάνει, καὶ ὑψίστην τὰ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.
 καὶ τὸν πῶς τρεῖς τοῦ τε ἀξιώματι τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτῷ
 μέζον ἰσότητος ἀπερβαίνει, καὶ πλεονεξίαν τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῦ βασιλεὺς
 παρ’ αὐτῶν. *Joseph. Antiqu. l. 2. c. 7. §. 7.*

† Μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμὸν ἐπ’ εὐδυνία καὶ εὐεπείᾳ τῆς χώρας ἡδὴ
 γένηθ’ ὅσον τῶν οἰκιστῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν πρὸς ἀπαντῶν, ἀμοιβὰς ἀντεκ-
 τινούσων ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐπεπόνθεσαν ἐν καίροις ἀβυκλήσις. Ἡ δὲ φημι
 ρύσσεια τὰς ἐξῆς πόλεις, καὶ ἐπληστὴς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐκλείας.
Philo de Joseph. p. 439.

“ and thanked him for the Benefits conferred
 “ on them in the Time of their Difficulty, and
 “ that his Fame was celebrated amongst foreign Cities.” I hope from these Observations every candid Reader will be convinced, that the *Hebrew* Prophet was not that Taskmaster, *that Tyrant*, the Philosopher hath represented him to be, that he did not strip the *Egyptians* of their Property and Possessions, nor reduce them to a State of Vassalage and Servitude. And what the Disposition of the Philosopher’s Mind was, how great his Love of Morality, Justice and Equity, when he secreted from his Reader’s View, and suppressed a Passage of the *Hebrew* Historian, that thus doth Honour to the Conduct and Character of *Joseph*, I leave others to judge of, and his own Conscience to pass the proper Reflections on.

S E C T. XI.

Of the Egyptian Priesthood.

AMONGST many curious and new Discoveries, that my Philosopher hath made in the *Egyptian* Antiquities, there are some that relate to the ancient Priests of that Country, which are not the least considerable. He hath found out *the Original* and Introduction of *Priestcraft*, as well as of *Tyranny* and arbitrary Power; both it seems by *Joseph’s* Means, and particularly by his dexterous Management of this Famine in *Egypt*.

*Egypt. Attend to the Oracle himself. He tells us, that Joseph's ingratiating himself with the King — introduced such an absolute Power, * both in Church and State, as never had been known in the World before; † that in the sixth Year of the Famine Joseph had obtained a Decree or Ordinance from Pharaoh, which made the Church Lands unalienable and irrefumable by the Crown, by which Means the Priesthood in Egypt became hereditary and independent of the Crown, these Lands had been made unalienable and hereditary by an irreversibile Decree, or perpetual Grant from the Crown; that upon the Strength of his Alliance with the High-Priest he had managed Matters so well as to have divided the whole Power and Property of Egypt, between the Church and the Crown, and this laid the Foundation of the vast Power and Influence of the Priests there in after Ages, for they were now invested with a vast Property in Lands, and became incredibly rich. He elsewhere also informs us, that ‡ they were now exempted from all Offices and Employments civil and military, but that when Joseph went into Egypt, || the Priesthood was absolutely dependent on the Crown, and the High-priest or Chief-Pontiff had his daily Allowance, durante beneplacito, from the King, but he made the Priesthood independent, for which he had at least this private Interest, that he had married the High-Priest's Daughter. All these Things he asserts with his usual Intrepidness and Confidence, as though*

* Vol. III. p. 11. † p. 20, 21. ‡ Vol. I. p. 241. || p. 239.

there were the most substantial and convincing Demonstrations of them. Let us draw them out into Particulars and examine them. He asserts

That *when Joseph went down into Egypt, the Priesthood was absolutely dependent on the Crown.*

That the High-Priest or Chief-Pontiff had his daily Allowance *durante beneplacito* from the King.

That by *Joseph's* Means the Priests were invested with a vast Property in Lands, and became incredibly rich.

That he obtained a Decree or Ordinance from *Pharaoh*, which made the Church Lands unalienable or irrefumable by the Crown.

That he now exempted them from all Offices and Employments civil and military.

That he made the Priesthood hereditary.

That he divided the whole Power and Property of *Egypt* between the Church and the Crown.

That he introduced such an absolute Power in the Church and State as had never been known in the World before. And finally,

That the Priesthood being now hereditary and independent, this gave them an Opportunity and Power to work up the People into the highest and grossest Degrees of Superstition.

1. He

1. He positively affirms, that *when Joseph went down into Egypt, the Priesthood was absolutely dependent on the Crown.* This is a new Discovery, and might pass for a very curious one, could he but support it. But he offers no Authority, nor attempts so much as the Shadow of any Proof. If by *dependent on the Crown*, he means that the Priests were of the Crown's choosing, that they depended on the Crown for the exercise of their Office, that they could be removed from it at the Pleasure of the Crown, that their Stipends and Incomes depended on the King's Will, and could be lessened or wholly taken away, whenever the King thought fit; there is not a single Passage in Antiquity that he can produce to support any one of these Assertions, but there are many that shall be alledged in Proof of the contrary. *A noble and very polite Writer*, who hath touched on the same Subject, and seems to be somewhat on the same Side of the Question, had juster Sentiments of this Matter, who says: * *To what height of Power the established Priesthood was arrived at that Time, viz. of Joseph's Ministry, may be conjectured hence: That the Crown offered not to meddle with the Church Lands, and that in this great Revolution nothing was attempted so much as by way of Purchase or Exchange, in prejudice of this landed Clergy; plainly intimating that they were then arisen to that Height of Power and Independency, as that the Crown did not think it prudent or safe to attempt to alter or alienate*

* p. 57, 58.

their Property; or, what I will venture to add, to lay that Tax on their Lands, to which all the other Lands in the whole Kingdom were subject. And I think there can be no greater Sign of any Clergy's Independency, than the Prince's not daring to levy on their Lands the common Taxes of the Country. The Account that *Diodorus* gives of the ancient Kings and Priests of *Egypt* exactly agrees with this Observation of the noble and polite Writer before mentioned, who tells us: That “ the * first Kings
“ of *Egypt* had no Servants about them purchased with Money or born in their House,
“ but that they were all of them Sons of the
“ most eminent Priests, above twenty Yearsold,
“ and who had the best Education of any in the
“ Country; † that of the three Orders of the
“ Land, the first was the Body of the Priests,
“ who were had in the highest Veneration by the
“ People, because of their Piety to the Gods,
“ and because by their Education they were
“ Persons of the highest Wisdom; ‡ that they
“ were perpetually conversant with the King

* Πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τῶν θεοκρατῶν αὐτῶν ἑδῆς ἦν ἢ ἀργυρῶν ἡθ, ἢ ἐοικογενὲς δαλθ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιφανέστων ἱερέων υἱοὶ πάντες, ὑπὲρ εἰκοσι μὲν εἴη γεγονότες, πεπαιδευμένοι δὲ καλλιῶν τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Diodor. l. i. p. 63.*

† Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐς τρία μέρη διηρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρῶτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐνέροτης τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις διὰ τε τὴν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συνεσθῆναι τὰς αἰδράς τε καὶ ἐκ παιδείας ἐσφερέσθαι. *Id. ibid. p. 66.*

‡ Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἢ οἱ προβεβλημένοι συνδιδάττειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοί, τῶν δὲ εἰσηγῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι. *Id. ibid.*

“ as his Counsellors in the greatest Affairs, act-
 “ ing with him, and being his Instructors and
 “ Masters, and in Honour and Power are
 “ next to the King; and * gave him daily
 “ Lectures how to form his own Life, and
 “ govern his Subjects well.” This was the
 Condition of the first *Egyptian* Kings, who ap-
 pear to have been in such a Measure dependent
 on their Priests, as that without their Advice and
 Direction they could not transact any great Af-
 fairs of State. † *Plato* also informs us of a Con-
 versation of an *Egyptian* Priest with *Solon*, who
 told him, that “ of the three Degrees or Orders
 of Men in *Egypt*, the Priests, were the first; ”
 or as ‡ *Diodorus*, speaking of the same Subject,
 the Conformity between the *Athenian* and *Egyptian*
 Politics, says: “ The *Athenians* were di-
 “ vided into three Ranks, the first of which
 “ were the *Eupatridæ*, or Nobles, who were
 “ principally brought up in Learning, and ad-
 “ vanced to the highest Honours, exactly like
 “ the Priests in *Egypt*.” || They were second in
 Rank and Dignity to the King himself. These

* Ο μὲν ἱεροθεσμιμαίευσ παρ' ἀνεγνωσκέ πινας συμβουλίας καὶ
 πράξεις συμφερούσας ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλῶν, τῶν ἐπιφανέσων ἀν-
 δρῶν, ὅπως οὗ τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων, τὰς χαλλίσας προσι-
 ρεῖται τῇ διανοίᾳ θεωρήσας, καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὴν τεταγμένην τῶν κατὰ
 μέρος τρεπνται διοίκησιν. Id. p. 64.

† Πρώτων μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν γενέσθ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς ἀφω-
 ρισμένων. Plat. Tim. p. 24.

‡ Πρώτην μὲν ὑπαρξαι μερίδα τῶν εὐπατρίδας καλεμένων, οἵτινες
 ὑπῆρχον ἐν παιδείᾳ μάλιστα διατεθειμένοι, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἡξιοῦμαι
 τιμῆς, παρ' ἀπληστίας τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῦσι. Lib. 1. p. 25.

|| Δευτέρουσιν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς τε δοξαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐξουσίαις.
 Diod. p. 66.

Accounts all agree in giving a very high Dignity and Authority to the ancient *Egyptian* Priests, agreeable to the very Signification of the original Word כהן, which indifferently denotes both Prince and Priest ; and plainly shew the Reason, why the Priests sold not their Lands like the rest of the *Egyptians*, in the general Famine, but were taken care of and maintained by the Crown during the Continuance of it ; because their Authority was too great, and their Persons, and consequently their Estates too sacred to be taxed in common with others, or alienated to the King. And herein profane and sacred History strengthen and confirm each other.

2. My Philosopher with equal Modesty and Truth asserts, that *the High-Priest or Chief-Pontiff had his daily Allowance, DURANTE BENEFPLACITO, from the King, when Joseph went down into Egypt.* Should I ask this learned Antiquarian what *High-Priest* he means, I know I should puzzle the Doctor, and he would be at a Loss for an Answer. He seems to think there was one Person High-Priest, or Chief-Pontiff over all the Priests of *Egypt*. But I can bring him a very ancient and good Authority to the contrary. * *Herodotus* tells us, that “ every
“ God in *Egypt* had his Priests and his High-
“ Priest.” They had various Gods, and there-

* *Ἰστανται δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἰς ἑστὴν ἀρχιερεὺς.* Herod. 1. 2. c. 37.

fore * various Orders of Priests to minister to them, each Order bearing some proper distinguishing Symbol or Mark, and therefore must each Order have their Head or Chief to preside over them. Indeed the Gods and Religions or † Superstitions of *Egypt* were so extremely different and contradictory, and the mutual Hatreds that prevailed amongst them upon Account of them so strong, as seems to render the Union of all the different Orders of Priests under one Head, a Thing absolutely impossible. ‡ They who belong to the Temple of the *Theban Jupiter*, or to the *Theban District*, all abstain from Sheep, and sacrifice Goats; for the *Egyptians* don't all worship the same Gods; but those who belong to the Temple of *Mendes*, or dwell in that Præfecture, they abstain from Goats, and sacrifice Sheep. || Amongst some of the *Egyptians* the Crocodile is sacred, to others not, but they pursue and

* Συμβολον γε ην εκαστω της ταξεως εμφαντικον, ου ελαχεν εν τοις ιερεσι, πλεους γαρ ησαν αι ταξεις. Porphyg. de abst. n. l. 4. c. 6.

† Αιγυπτιοι κατα τας θρησκειας τας σφων εσκεδανθαι σεβεσαι δε αυτων συνηνιται φασεν ουδ' ιχθυον· μαιωθην δε, ος αλλ' εθ' ιχθυος, οι την Ελεφαντινην οικοντες. Οξυριχθιαι τον φερωννυμον της χωρης αυτων ομοιως ιχθυον. Επι γε μην Ηρακλεοπολις ιχθυονουα. Σαίς δ' εχ' Θηβαις περιβαλον. Λυκοπολις δ' ε Λυκον. Κυνοπολις δ' ε κυνα. Τον Απιν Μεμφις. Μενδησιοι τον τραχον. Clem. Alex. p. 34. Edit. Potter.

‡ Οσοι μιν δη Διος Θηβαις ιδρυνται ιερον, η νομος τε Θηβαις εστι, εθ' οι μιν νυν παντες οϊων απεχομενοι, αιχας δυσσι. Θεος γαρ δη ε τας αυτες ομοιως απαντες Αιγυπτιοι σεβονθαι. Οσοι δη τε Μενδηθ' εκληθαι ιερον, η νομος τε Μενδησις εστι, εθ' οι δε αιχων απεχομενοι, οϊς δυσσι. Herod. l. 2. c. 42.

|| Τοις μιν δη των Αιγυπτιων ιερι εσιν οι κροκοδειλοι, τοις δ' ε, αλλ' ατε πολεμους περιεπυσι. Herod. l. 2- c. 69.

destroy

destroy them as Enemies, and others even eat them.

—————Crocodilon adorat
 Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
 —————Summus utrinque
 Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
 Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
 Esse Deos quos ipse colit——

Juven. Sat. 15.

In such a Situation of Gods and Worshippers, a common High-Priest could never be constituted in *Egypt*.

But granting the Philosopher his *Chief-Pontiff*, whence had he that curious Information about *his daily Allowance* from the King, *during Pleasure*? 'Tis the Imagination only of his own ever fruitful Brain. The only Passage that could furnish him this shrewd Hint, is that in *Genesis*: * *The Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them.* But this is spoken of all the Priests in general, and not of the High-Priest in particular, and doth not refer to any standing *ordinary Allowance* of the Priests in general, or the High-Priest separately, but to the *special Allowance* that was made them during the Famine. For they are introduced as a Reason why *Joseph* did not buy the Lands of the Priests, in that general Sale that was made

* Gen. xlvii. 22.

of them by the rest of the People. *Only the Land of the Priests bought he not, for the Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, wherefore they sold not their Lands*; a Demonstration that before this they lived not on *Pharaoh's* Allowance, but on the Produce of their *own* Lands, and had as separate and distinct a Maintenance as *Pharaoh* himself. And if this was the Condition of the Priests in general, no Man in his Senses will ever imagine, that the High-Priest was more dependent on the Crown than the rest of his Brethren, or had a precarious Maintenance at the King's Pleasure, when all the rest had settled and large Revenues for their own Support.

3. Nor is there more Truth in the next Assertion, that *by Joseph's Means the Priests were now invested with a vast Property in Lands, and became incredibly rich*, This is the Suggestion of Ignorance or Malice, and a *philosophical Slander* on this great Man, groundless and contrary to Evidence. They had Lands I allow, and ample Revenues. But they had them before any Establishment of *Joseph*, and *Joseph* made no Addition or Increase to them. *Only the Land of the Priests*, says the Sacred History, *they sold not*, and *Joseph* bought not; which would have been a most wondrous Observation of the Historian, if they had none to sell. * The noble Writer before mentioned had so high an Opinion of their Wealth, that he saith: *Nor is it strange*

* Charact. V. III. p. 47. 48.

that

that we should find the Property and Power of the Egyptian Priesthood in ancient Days arrived to such an Height, as in a Manner to have swallowed up the State and Monarchy. And that he carries these ancient Days up as high as *Joseph* is evident, from the before mentioned Passage, in which he speaks of them as * a landed Clergy, and of their Church Lands, before *Joseph* had, as he expresses himself, obtained in a Manner the whole Property, and consequently the absolute Dominion of the Land for Pharaoh. And indeed the Thing is indisputable. In the most ancient Establishment of *Egypt* the Priests were very liberally provided for, long before the Time of *Joseph*; and the Intimation of Scripture that they had Lands antecedent to his Ministry is abundantly confirmed by † *Diodorus*, who tells us that
 “ *Isis*, willing to encourage the Priests to per-
 “ form the Ceremonies she had appointed in
 “ Honour of her Husband *Osiris*, gave them
 “ the third Part of the Country for their Re-
 “ venues, to enable them to support their sa-
 “ cred Services, and the Worship of the Gods,
 “ and that ‡ out of their stated Income, they
 “ provided, all the Sacrifices throughout *Egypt*,

* Charact. V. III. p. 57.

† Βελομένην δὲ τὴν Ἰσὶν καὶ τῷ λυσιτελεῖν παρέσχεσθαι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐπὶ τὰς προεργίας τιμὰς, τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς προόδου δύναιτο πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας τε καὶ λειτουργίας Diod. l. i. p. 18.

‡ Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τῶν προσόδων τὰς τε θυσίας ἀπάσας τὰς κατ’ Αἰγυπτίον συντελεσσι, καὶ τὰς υπηρετίας τρεφῆσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χεῖραις χορηγῶσι — ὅτε τὰς πάντων προβαλενομένων ἐνδεῶν ἀναίτων ἀναγκῶν. Id. ibid. p. 66.

“ maintain

“ maintain their Servants, and supply their
 “ own Wants, and that the *Egyptians* did
 “ not think it fit, that they who were the
 “ common Counsellors of the Nation, should
 “ be themselves destitute of Necessaries.” So
 that the Endowments of the Priests, and their
 large Share of Property in the Lands of *Egypt*,
 was almost from the very Foundation of the
 Kingdom ; it was the Constitution of *Isis* her-
 self, Sister and Queen of *Osiris*, who was the
Mitzraim of the Scripture, and the Grandson
 of *Noah* by *Ham* ; and for which *Joseph* is not
 in the least answerable.

That the *Egyptian* Priests gained any Acces-
 sion of Land or Wealth from *Joseph*'s Ministry,
 there is not the least Hint of in sacred or pro-
 fane History. They sold not their original
 Lands 'tis true, because *Pharaoh* otherwise pro-
 vided for them, but we read nothing of any new
 ones granted them ; and by vesting the Lands
 of the whole People in the Crown, *Joseph* I
 think effectually prevented the Priests engrossing
 any more of them than they originally had,
 into their own Hands ; for from henceforwards
 both the royal Revenues and the Maintenance of
 the People depended on the maintaining the
 Settlement made by *Joseph*, and both Prince and
 People were equally concerned to prevent all
 future Alienation of them to the Priesthood.
 Whilst *Joseph*'s Law subsisted, it was impossible
 thus to alienate them. It must have impover-
 ished both Prince and People. The Prince

could not assign them over, because four Fifths of the Produce were by a publick Law the Property of the People. Nor could the People transfer them, because they held them of the Crown, and the fifth Part of the Produce was reserved for the Use of it. So that by *Joseph's* Law it was impossible that the Priests could be enriched, nor was there ever a more effectual Bar put by any Nation or Minister, than *Joseph* put by his Settlement, to the encreasing the Lands and temporal Revenues of the Priesthood. It was in truth a Law, that at once settled the Demands of the Crown and the Properties and Liberties of the People, and that curbed the Avarice and Ambition of the Priests, and made it almost impossible that either of them should make any Encroachments on the other.

The noble Author before mentioned having observed, that *the Crown offered not to meddle with the Church Lands, and that in this great Revolution nothing was attempted so much as by way of Purchase or Exchange in Prejudice of this landed Clergy*; immediatly adds: * *The Prime Minister himself having joined his Interest with theirs, and entered by Marriage into their Alliance.* From him the Philosopher hath taken up the Hint, and without any Thing of the others *Politeness and Decency*, but with a clumsy *Rudeness* peculiar to himself, says: † *All I am concerned to prove is, that he made the Priesthood in Egypt independent, which was not so before,*

* Charact. p. 58. v. 3. V. I. p. 239.

and that for exempting the whole priestly Order from this common Slavery, he had at least this private Interest, that he had married the High-Priest's Daughter. Or as he elsewhere expresses himself, * upon the Strength of his Alliance with the High-Priest by marrying his Daughter, he had managed Matters so well, as to have divided the whole Power and Property of Egypt between the Church and the Crown. The true Answer to the Philosopher here is,

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.

'Tis true he did marry the Daughter of a Priest; if our Version be better than the Marginal, but whence came our Author by his Information that it was *the High-Priest's Daughter*? This, like other of his Discoveries, is *bold Assertion* without Proof. Nor doth it appear that he sought this Marriage with a Priest's Daughter, preferably to any other; for the History observes that † Pharaoh gave him to wife the Daughter of Potipherah Priest of On; a Match that in his Situation he could not refuse, for the Priests in reality were the Nobles of Egypt; and though the Priests did not sell their Lands, yet 'tis not true, as for any Thing that appears in History, that it was owing to Joseph's Contrivance, from any private Interest he could have by his Al-

* V. 3. p. 21.

† Gen. xli. 45.

liance with the Priests. For the sacred Historian expressly tells us, that it was owing to a Provision of *Pharaoh* himself to the contrary. *They had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, WHEREFORE they sold not their Lands.* Nor is there any Intimation that it was by *Joseph's* Influence over *Pharaoh*, that this Provision was made for them. Malice and Prejudice may suggest this. But I suspect every Thing that comes from these Suggestions, and every Man hath a Right to demand and insist on the Proofs. And though *Joseph* had entered by marriage into their Alliance, yet it doth not appear that he so far joined his Interest with theirs, as to give them any Assistance to encrease their Lands and Revenues. And methinks *the noble Author* should not have reproached him for this Alliance, even in *that tender and polite Manner* in which he hath done it, since so far was he from making any Addition to their Influence and Wealth, that he effectually barred them from all farther Acquisitions, and by vesting the Lands of the People in the Crown, and reserving a fifth Part of the Produce for the royal Revenues, he encreased the Power of the Prince and People by the same Law, by which he limited the Influence of the Priests. An Injury surely that may be easily forgiven him. The Philosopher's Insults on *Joseph*, as exempting the whole priestly Order from the common Slavery, from this private Interest of his Marriage, and upon the Strength of this Alliance managing Matters so well, &c.

are rude and contemptible Falsehoods, that neither require nor deserve an Answer.

I cannot help here observing, though a little out of Place, the Generosity of this great and good Man, who upon the Resignation of the Lands of *Egypt* into his Hands, neither added to the Riches of the Priests to whom he was allied by Marriage, nor obtained the Grant of any of these Lands from the King for any of those to whom he was allied by Family and Blood. A * fairer Opportunity sure never offered itself to any *Prime Minister* to enrich himself, his Family and Friends. He purchases the whole Property of a Kingdom, and hath the Estates of the Commonalty actually surrendered into his Hands. What *precious Gleanings* here for a Minister *moderately desirous* ! What *rich Harvests* for one *thoroughly greedy* and rapacious ! This and the other Estate laid conveniently enough for his Family, and I presume *my Hebrew Lord*, and *the Lords his Brethren and Kindred* knew the Worth of Lands, and knew that large Possessions in the Country would greatly strengthen their Interest, and give them a very considerable Accession of Power to maintain their Settlement, if they had had any Intention to continue in *Egypt*. What hindered this *Prime Minister* from seizing the favourable Opportunity ? *Fidelity* to

* Των καιρων καὶ περιστάσεων εἰς ἀβυσμισμόν παρεχόντων πλεονεξίας ἀπορρέας, δύνηδες δὲ ὀλίγῃ πλεσιωτάτῃ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν γινέσθαι, κ. τ. λ. Phil. de Joi. v. 2. p. 77. Edit. Mang.

his Prince, for whom he made the Purchase. *Generosity* to the People, from whom he received their Lands, only to restore them to them again, upon a better Tenure, and *under a reserved Tax*, as their absolute Inheritance. And finally, *Faith and Hope* in the Promises of God to his *pious Ancestors*, that *Canaan* and not *Egypt* was to be the Place of their Settlement and Inheritance.

4. Another Discovery he makes is, that Joseph *obtained a Decree or Ordinance from Pharaoh, which made the Church Lands unalienable or irrefumable by the Crown.* 'Tis a thousand Pities he had not produced a *Copy of this Decree or Ordinance.* It would have been a very *venerable Piece* of Antiquity, and a *great Curiosity* to the learned World. It would have done his own Character no Hurt, and prevented all Suspicion of Falsehood and Imposture in this Affair. With his good Leave I affirm there was no such Decree, at least as for any Thing that he is able to produce in Proof of it. I am not in the least concerned about any *curious Anecdotes* he may have on this Subject. However to do him Justice, he hath a Criticism *the most critical* and sublime on this Subject, that ever was or ever will be made. Attend Ye Criticks and give Ear!

In the fifth Year, says he, * *when all the rest of the Lands were seized to the Use of the Crown, the Priests sold not their Lands, because they were*

* V. III. p. 20. 21.

otherwise provided for, * and had their ordinary or stated Allowance from the King. But at the End of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh Year, the Priests Lands were not seized or taken too, because they were not Pharaoh's. † Therefore these Lands had now been made unalienable and hereditary by an irreversibile Decree, or perpetual Grant from the Crown, or otherwise they must have been as much Pharaoh's, or as much in his Power, as any of the rest. Or as he expresses himself in his first Volume, ‡ The Minister obtained a Grant from the King in perpetuity for the Priest's Lands, so as to render them unalienable or irresumable by the Crown; for after this there is another Reason given for the Priests not selling their Lands, because the King could not resume them; they were not Pharaoh's, or alienable to the Crown, like all other real and personal Property. And that his Reader might not question the Thing, he adds: *This Story is plainly and simply told, and since it redounds not much to the Credit of the Minister, and the Historian was certainly in Joseph's Interest, there can be no Reason to doubt of the Truth of it.* How plainly soever the Story be told by the Historian, it is I am sure very simply related by the Philosopher, and it is not much to his Credit, that he could not tell a plain and simple Story, in the plain and simple Manner he found it.

Take the whole Account, Reader, as the sacred Historian hath given it, and then judge

* Gen. xlvii. 22. † v. 26. ‡ p. 240.

of this Philosopher's *Acuteness*, and *Dexterity* in Demonstration. 'Tis this: When *Joseph* had bought all the Lands of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, the Historian expressly excepts out of the Purchase the Lands *הַכֹּהֲנִים* of the Priests, or as one of the Philosopher's *principal Authors* and *Autorities*, the Margin, hath it, *The Princes. Only the Land of the Priests bought he not.* And this Reason is expressly assigned for it: *For the Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them.* Wherefore, adds the Historian, *they sold not their Lands.* They were not necessitated to sell their Lands for Bread, like the rest of the People, and therefore *Joseph* made no Purchase of them, because they were supplied during the whole Famine by *Pharaoh's* Order, and therefore their Lands remained as really and fully their Property in and after the Famine as before it. But when *Joseph* restored their Lands to the People, after they had sold them, he restored them under the fixed Condition of *an annual Tribute* to *Pharaoh*. He made it a Law over the Land of *Egypt* unto this Day *לפרעה לחמש* that it should be *Pharaoh's* as to the fifth Part. Only the Land of the Priests alone *לא תהא לפרעה* was not *Pharaoh's*, viz. *לחמש* as to the fifth Part of it. They kept their Lands free from this Tax which was imposed on all the rest of them. This is the plain and certain Construction of the Words, and I am not afraid to appeal to any one candid Person's Judgment in the whole World on

I

this

this Affair ; and the Meaning of them is easy, and the Connection natural. We were informed before by the Historian, that *the Priests sold not their Lands*, and therefore when he tells us, that Joseph *made it a Law over the Land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the Fifth*, it was necessary to add this Exception of the Priests Lands ; because the Priests had never sold them to the Crown as the rest of the Inhabitants had. *Pharaoh* had no Property in them, and therefore no Right to levy on them this fifth Part, to which all the rest of *Egypt* was subject. Now what is there in all this, that affects the Credit of the Minister, when the History tells us, that it was he who restored the People their Lands, but that it was *Pharaoh* who prevented the Sale, the Alienation and Taxing those of the Priests. As the Story is *simply told*, it is to *Joseph's* Honour, but as it is *philosophically* i. e. *falsly told*, it is to the Dishonour of the Relater. For how is it reported by him ? *After this there is another Reason given for the Priests not selling their Lands, because the King could not resume them.* But there is no Reason at all given but that at Verse 22d. for their not selling their Land, and that is because *Pharaoh* provided for them. Nor is there one Syllable about the King's not being able to resume them, nor are the Words, *the Land of the Priests only became not Pharaoh's*, any Reason at all, nor intended as a Reason, nor introduced with a *For*, a *Wherefore*, or a *Therefore* ; but evidently brought in

as

as an Exception at Verse 26. and an Exception to a general Tax ; and can neither in their natural Construction or Connection denote any Thing else, but that they were not *Pharaoh's as to the Fifth* ; but that they remained what they originally were, *intirely the Property* of the Priests, without being subjected to any Tax.

But supposing they are urged as a Reason for the Priests not selling their Lands, yet how will the Philosopher make out his Meaning? *They were not Pharaoh's*, i. e. *the King could not resume them* ; or, *they were not Pharaoh's*, i. e. *not alienable to the Crown*, or, *they were not Pharaoh's*, i. e. *they had been now made unalienable and hereditary by an irreversibile Decree*, or perpetual Grant from the Crown. You must pardon me, Sir, if I humbly conceive this to be *unalienable and irreversibile Nonsense*. For what Logick or Mathematicks will prove, that whatever is not the King's is not alienable to the King? Or, that what is not the King's is rendered unalienable by an irreversibile Decree, or made hereditary by a perpetual Grant? If our Version of the Words was right, and needed no Supplement, the plain simple Meaning of them would be, that as the Priests had not sold them to *Pharaoh*, therefore they were not his, and therefore not liable to be taxed ; and nothing can be more *stupidly said*, than saying, that the Words, *they were not Pharaoh's* is another Reason given for the Priests not selling their Lands, when on the contrary their not selling the Lands

is the very Reason why they were not, could not be *Pharaoh's*. The Truth is, our Version of the Passage is injudicious, by which, what is one plain Sentence in the *Hebrew* is broken into two, by the Insertion of the Relative *Which*, that is not in the Original ; and the exact and literal Translation of the whole Passage is : *Only, or, But the Land of the Priests alone was Pharaoh's, viz. as to the fifth Part* ; for the rest of the Lands were now *Pharaoh's only as to this* ; but even from this, the Priest's Lands were exempted. I hope therefore this Philosopher will bring us some better Authority for this *irreversible Decree* or perpetual Grant, which he positively affirms *Joseph* obtained from *Pharaoh* in behalf of the *Egyptian Priests* ; for as yet that Proof is absolutely wanting. And yet it is upon this Decree he hath erected his whole Fabrick of that *Independency of the Priesthood* which he says *Joseph* made, and that *he himself is concerned to prove* ; and it is a Foundation worthy his Genius, Learning and Veracity. He is indeed *deeply concerned* to prove it, otherwise he will be looked on by all who read his *Moral Philosopher*, in such a Light, as I would not *deservedly appear in* for the World.

How sweetly he reasons, when he adds farther upon this Head : *These Lands had been made unalienable by a perpetual Grant from the Crown, otherwise they must have been as much Pharaoh's, or as much in his Power as any of the rest.* Incomprehensibly deep this.

Nihil

Nihil supra.

Lands *never sold* to the King by their Proprietors, are as much in the King's Power, as Lands *actually sold* to and purchased by him ! Who can withstand such Reasoning and Demonstration ? If the *Egyptian* King had not as much Property in the Priest's Lands, as he had in those of the rest of the People, because the Priests had not like the rest of the People alienated or surrendered them ; then those Lands might not have been unalienable by any perpetual Grant from the Crown, and yet there might be a very good Reason why they were not, and could not be *Pharaoh's* ; for in my poor Apprehension, *Pharaoh's* not buying them was as good a Reason why they could not be his, as his rendering them unalienable by a perpetual Grant. Especially it was a good Reason in a Land of Liberty, and in that *free Constitution* which he tells us was the peculiar Happiness of *Egypt*. If my Philosopher had *a few Acres* of Land, I doubt not but he would exclaim against it as high Tyranny and Injustice, if the King or his Minister should pretend to seize on them, merely because they had not been rendered unalienable by a perpetual Grant from the Crown ; and I fancy there are but few Tenures of this kind amongst our Nobility and Gentry, who yet imagine themselves extremely safe in their Possessions, and think their Property *as unalienable* in this
free

free Constitution, unless they themselves alienate them, as if they were made so by a Grant from the Crown. The Truth is, this Philosopher hath *forged*, out of his own *ever fertile Imagination* a Decree that he cannot produce, for making the Priests Lands unalienable, in order to reproach this *venerable Patriarch*, and with great Morality and Philosophy hath omitted to mention a Decree that he might have produced for his Honour; that humane, that generous, that noble Decree, by which he restored to the *Egyptians* their Estates in full Property and Possession, after they had resigned them; and thereby made the People's *the Laity's* Lands *unalienable* to the Priests, to whom he was allied by Marriage, and *irresumable* by the King to whom he was Prime Minister, without any other Burthen but the Fifth of their Produce for the better Support of the Crown, which he knew by the Experience of several Years they were well able to bear. And this Constitution of *Joseph* was found by Experience to be so equitable and good, as that it subsisted for a long while after his Death. For the Historian observes, that *Joseph made it a Law over the Land of Egypt to this Day*, i. e. this Law, that was made by him continued in Force to the Time when the Historian, who related it, wrote; who if *Moses*, as is generally thought, could not have wrote this Account till above two hundred Years after *Joseph's* Decease; or if *Samuel*, as others think, not till many hundred Years after the Death of *Moses*.

Moses. And accordingly * *Diodorus* represents it as Part of the ancient Felicity of *Egypt*, that “ their
 “ Kings did not burthen their People with Tri-
 “ butes, and † that the Farmers held their Lands
 “ at a very low Rent from the King, the Priests
 “ and the Soldiers, and that ‡ many of the
 “ ancient excellent Laws of the *Egyptians* con-
 “ tinued till the *Macedonians* seized the Coun-
 “ try, and abolished the old Kingdom and
 “ Customs of *Egypt*; and speaks of them as in
 “ Force when *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Homer* and
 “ other *Grecians* travelled into that Country,”
 in order to learn, and carry back with them into
Greece their Arts and religious Principles and
 Ceremonies.

I think therefore, I may upon the whole
 venture to affirm, that *Joseph* obtained no such
 Grant from *Pharaoh* to make the Church Lands
 unalienable as the Philosopher dreams of, nor
 ever invested the Priests with any large Property
 in Land. And the Improbability of this will far-
 ther appear, if his Doctrine be true, that the *Israel-
 ites* were the ancient *Shepherds*, who invaded and
 conquered *Egypt*; since upon their first seizing
 that Country they did such Things as are in-

* Την δε δευτεραν μοιραν οι βασιλεις παρεληφασιν εις προσο-
 δους — τις τε ιδιωτας δια την εκ των ευπειων ε βαπτιζουσι
 ταις εισφοραις. *Diod.* l. i. p. 66, 67.

† Οι μεν εν γεωρσοι μικρα τινθ την καρποφορον χωραν την
 πασα τε βασιλεως η των ιερεων η των μαχιμων μιδαμενοι δια-
 τελασι. *Id.* *ibid.*

‡ Εν δε ταις υστερον χρονις παλλα των καλως εχειν δοκουντων
 νομιμων φασι κινηθηναι, Μακεδονων επικρατησαντων η καταλυ-
 σαντων εις τελθ την βασιλειαν των εγχωριων. *Id.* *ibid.* p. 85.

consistent with this supposed Establishment of *Joseph* in favour of the *Egyptian* Priesthood. For *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* Priest, with whom our Philosopher *falsely* pretends a very intimate Acquaintance, expressly assures us; that these * *Eastern* *Shepherds* suddenly invaded *Egypt*, took it by Force without the Hazard of a Battle, subdued their Princes, cruelly burnt their Cities, and threw down the Temples of their Gods. That they shewed the utmost Hatred to the native Inhabitants, killing some, and enslaving the Children and Wives of others; that their first six Kings, during the Space two hundred and sixty Years, were perpetually at War with the *Egyptians*, or rather endeavoured to extirpate them out of the Country. Now can any one imagine, that these *Hebrews*, if they were in reality the same Persons with the *Eastern* *Shepherds*, who destroyed the Temples of the *Egyptian* Gods, upon their first invading the Country, and used all the Inhabitants with such merciless Cruelty, would shew such Profusion of Bounty to the Priests, and endow them so liberally with hereditary Honours and Revenues? The Destruction of the *Egyptian* Temples by these *Shepherds*, shews their Contempt for the Gods and Priests and Su-

* Τους ησημονευσαντας εν αυτη χειρωσαμενοι, το λοιπον τας τε πλεας ωμως ενεπρησαν, η τα ιερα τ' ετων καλεσκασαν. Πασι δε τοις επιχωριοις εχθροτατα πως εχρησαντο, τας μιν σφαζοντας, των δε η τα τεκνα η γυναικας εις δουλειαν αβουλας—η εβουλεν εξ εν αυτοις εβηνθησαν πρωτοι αρχοντες, πολεμεντες αει η ποδοντες μαλλον της Αιγυπτου αζαροι την ειζαν. *Maneth.* apud *Joseph.* *cont. Apion.* l. 1. §. 14.

perstitutions of *Egypt*, and therefore the utter Improbability of that peculiar Favour which the Philosopher asserts, was shewn them by *Joseph*. *Manetho* knew nothing of *Joseph*'s Bounty in this Article, and if the *Jews* were *Manetho*'s Shepherds, and destroyed the *Egyptian* Temples upon their first Entrance into *Egypt*, 'tis impossible to suppose they could at the same time aggrandise their Priests. For this very Decree of *Joseph* to make the Priests independent, was obtained from *Pharaoh*, according to our Author, in the fourth or fifth Year of the Famine, *i. e.* in the third and fourth Year after the Pastors Descent.

I might farther argue this from the Principles and Religion of *Joseph*, who evidently appears to have kept himself quite free from the Corruptions of the *Egyptian* Superstitions. One Reason probably why *Joseph* did not eat at the same Table with the *Egyptians*, was the Difference of his Religion from theirs. The Names of his two Sons, *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, and the Reasons he gives for them, * *God hath made me forget all my Toil, God hath caused me to be fruitful in the Land of my Affliction*, shew his abiding Sense of Providence, and his Regard for the true God, in the midst of his Prosperity. And this he more plainly declares to his Brethren, before he discovered himself to them, in those remarkable Words: † *This do and live, for I fear God*. Now it is scarce probable, that

* Gen. xli. 51, 52. † Gen. xlii. 18.

a Man of his Religion, one with whom the *Egyptians*, even when he was Prime Minister, would not so much as eat, should show such Favours to an idolatrous Priesthood, as to invest them with large Revenues in Lands, make their Estates unalienable, render them independent of the Crown itself, and thus assist them in establishing and encreasing the Idolatries of that Country. As he could not but despise their Gods, he must have a proportionable Contempt for their Priests, and could scarce ever, one would think, be prevailed with to set himself up as their Head and Patron. This *Quondam Divine*, now metamorphosed into a Philosopher, may call this *preaching* if he pleases, and for that Reason treat it *with-Scorn* as usual, from a Consciousness, I suppose, of what *his own preaching* formerly was. But I believe no one, except himself, who considers *Joseph's* Education, and the Principles he carried into *Egypt*, and maintained there, will easily imagine, that he would become at once so *absolutely devoted* to such a superstitious Clergy, and heap on them more extraordinary Privileges and Immunities, than were ever conferred on them before by any of their own Princes; especially as it is not pretended that he had any other Interest for this but *his marrying the High-Priest's Daughter*. And even this is partly false, since there is no Proof that it was *the High-Priest's Daughter*; and may not be true in any Sense, for it might possibly be a Daughter of one of the

Princes of On, for any Thing that appears, or the Philosopher can prove to the Contrary.

But even supposing he had married the Daughter of an *Egyptian* Priest, was the private Interest attending such a Match so very extraordinary, as to overbalance all other Interests of Religion, Family, and Birth? This Grant from the Crown in Favour of the Priests, if obtained by *Joseph* at the Time our Philosopher places it, was obtained soon after his Father and Brethren's Descent into *Egypt*, who therefore must have been Witnesses to his Conduct, and could not but have been extremely grieved to see him thus enter into all the Interests of that wretched Priesthood, and using his Interest with *Pharaoh*, for ever to enslave the *Egyptians* to the Superstitions they practised. Such a Conduct could no more be reconcilable with the Regards he owed to his own Family, than with the Character of one who worshipped the true God, and is absolutely inconsistent with the whole of *Joseph's* Character as represented by the Historian. And therefore the Philosopher's *Tale* of the royal Decree or Ordinance obtained by *Joseph* from *Pharaoh*, may pass for an Instance of his *peculiar good Will* to this great Man, and of his Integrity in writing History, and will be regarded by all the impartial Part of Mankind as Specimens of his distinguished Veracity and Charity.

5. He asserts, that *Joseph now exempted the Priests from all Offices and Employments civil and military*; but as to Proofs, he is as deficient here

as in the former Articles, and the Reader is to believe him *merely* upon his own Authority and Affirmation. But I think there is exceeding good Reason to believe, that *Joseph* was not the Author of any such Exemption, but that if they were thus exempted, it was done long before the Times of *Joseph*. But I greatly doubt the Fact itself, *viz.* that they were ever *exempted from all civil Offices*. I know well they were wholly freed from *all military Services*; and I am apt to think that if the Clergy in the Philosopher's own Time were to put on the Sword, and take on them *military Dignities*, he would be one of the first to reproach them, with acting unsuitably to their Character and Profession. I believe too the *Egyptian* Clergy were exempted from all *the lower civil Offices* of the State, as unsuitable to their Dignity and Station; but I think they were originally and principally employed in all Offices of the State of an higher and more honourable Kind. They were in *Egypt* what the *Eupatridæ* or *Nobles* were in *Greece*, brought up in Learning, and advanced to the highest Honours; they were always attendant on the King as his * Companions and Counsellors, acting with him in the greatest Affairs of State, as hath been proved before, and † the proper Judges of the People. So that

* Οι δ' ιερείς κ' φιλοσοφίαν ησκήν κ' αεθρομίαν, ομιλήσαι τε των βασιλεων ησαν. Strab. p. 1135.

† Δικασται δε το αρχαιον παρ' Αιγυπτίοις οι ιερείς ησαν. Ην δε τελων αρχων ο Πρεσβυταίτης, κ' εδίκασεν απάντας. *Ælian.* Var. Hist. l. 14. c. 34. Edit. Gronov.

they were perpetually conversant in civil Matters; and this seems to be implied by the very original Word *יָד*, which signifies both *Prince* and *Priest*, to denote that both Characters were frequently united in the same Person, and that their Priests were in *Joseph's* Time amongst the Nobles of *Egypt*.

And indeed, in the most ancient Periods of the World, civil and religious Dignities were not always separated, but often possessed by one and the same Person. *Melchizedek* was King and Priest of *Salem*, and the *Jewish* High-Priests were frequently their Governors, both before and after the Captivity. And long before either of these, the ancient Patriarchs acted as the Priests of God, offering themselves their Sacrifices, and not by another; those of the highest Dignity not thinking it beneath them to be employed in sacred Services, at the same Time that they managed all the temporal Concerns relating to themselves and their Families. And as to the most ancient *Egyptians* in particular, so far were their Priests, as this Author ignorantly affirms, exempted from all civil Employments, that they managed the greatest and most important of them. “The Priests and the Prophets, says * *Plato*, are filled with an height

* Το γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν χάρις καὶ τὸ τῶν μανθίων εὐ μάλα φρονήματι πληροῦμαι καὶ δοῶν σέμνην λαμβάνει διὰ τὸ μετέθεσθαι τῶν ἐλχειρημάτων. Ὡς οὖν ποιεῖ μὲν Αἰγυπτίον καὶ ἐξέσθαι βασιλεῖα χάρις ἱερατικῆς ἀρχεῖν. Ἀλλ’ εἰν ἀρχὴ καὶ τύχη περὶ τερὸν ἐξ ἄλλης γένος βιάσασθαι, ὑπερὸν ἀναγκασίον εἰς τὰς ἐιστὴλας αὐτῶν τὸ γὰρ. *Plat. in Polit. p. 290.*

“ of

“ of Spirit, and received solemn Honours, be-
 “ cause of the greatness of the Things in which
 “ they engage, infomuch that in *Egypt* it is not
 “ lawful for any one to rule as King, without
 “ he be of the Priesthood. And if any one,
 “ who was originally of another Stock should
 “ seize on the Kingdom, it is necessary he
 “ should afterwards be consecrated into that
 “ Order.” The same Thing, though in a some-
 what different Manner is related by * *Plutarch*,
 who tells us, that “ the Kings of *Egypt* were
 “ chosen out of the Priests or Soldiers, the lat-
 “ ter having Dignity and Honour upon account
 “ of their Fortitude, the former upon account
 “ of their Wisdom ; and that if the King was
 “ chosen from the Soldiery he became one of
 “ the Priests, and was immediately initiated
 “ into their hidden Philosophy.” The same
 Thing is mentioned by † *Synefius* : In ancient
 Times, says he, “ the same Persons were Kings
 “ and Judges, for the *Egyptians* and *Hebrews*
 “ were governed by their Priests.” The same
 Custom prevailed amongst other Nations. “ The
 “ chief ‡ Magistrates of *Greece*, and particularly

* Οι δε βασιλεις αποδεικνυντο μεν εκ των ιερεων η των μαχι-
 μων, τα μεν δι' ανδρειαν, τα δε δια σοφειαν, γενος αξιομα κη
 τιμην εχοντο. Ο δε εκ μαχιμων αποδειξμενος ευτως εβενετο
 των ιερεων. *Ibid.* et *Chr.* p. 354.

† Ο πολαι χρονο ηρεσκε τις αυτες βασιλεας κη κριτας. Οι
 γαρ Αιθιοπισι κη Εβραιοι υπο των ιερεων εβασιλευονταν.

‡ Επ δε Ελληνων πλααχεταις μερισταις αρχαις τα εριτα
 των περι τα τιμολα θυματα ευρετι τις αν παρσαι με α θυει κη
 δη κη παρ' υμιν εχ ημισα δολον ο λεσω. Τω γαρ λα, ουτε β. πλα-
 φασι ηδε τα σημνοτατα κη μαλιστα πατεια των αρχων θυτων
 αποδεδοται. *Plat. Polit.* p. 290.

“ at *Athens*, appointed all the principal Sacrifices,
 “ in which City the Person created *Βασιλεὺς* or
 “ King had committed to his Care all the most
 “ venerable Rites and Sacrifices they derived
 “ from their Ancestors.” *Anius* King of *Delos*
 was Priest of *Apollo*.

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique
 Sacerdos.

Virg. Æn. 3. 280.

Where the Remark of * *Servius* is: “ This
 “ was the Custom of the Ancients, that the
 “ King was Priest and Chief-Pontiff, whence
 “ also in our Times the Emperors are Pontiffs.”
 This is well known to have been the Consti-
 tution of ancient *Rome*. “ When † *Romulus*
 “ divided the Inhabitants of the City into the
 “ *Patricii* and *Plebei*, the Nobles and Commons,
 “ he appointed each of them their respective
 “ Offices. The Nobles he ordered to administer
 “ in holy Things, to bear Magistracy, to admi-
 “ nister Justice, to manage the Commonwealth
 “ with himself, and to apply themselves to the

* Sane majorum hæc erat consuetudo, ut rex esset etiam Sacerdos & Pontifex. Unde hodie quoque imperatores dicimus Pontifices. *Serv. ad Ion.* Ὅπως ἐπὶ καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς λογιστάταις τῶν βασιλευσῶν ὠζέται, τὸ ἱερατικὸν γὰρ εἰς βασιλείαν πρὸς αὐτῶν.

Clem. Alex. p. 852.

† Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπεὶ ἐκρίνε τὰς κρείττους ἀπὸ τῶν ἡττοτέρων, ἐνομοθέτει μετὰ τούτο καὶ διατάττει αὐτοὺς ἀρχὴν πρῶτην ἑκάστης· τὰς μὲν εὐπαίδους ἱεραδαὶ τε καὶ ἀρχαί, κ. τ. λ. *Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom.* p. 81.

“ Service

“ Service of the City. * To the King him-
 “ self he annexed many Dignities, and pecu-
 “ liarly this, that he should preside over all the
 “ sacred Rites and Sacrifices, and that all holy
 “ Services to the Gods should be performed by
 “ him ;” and accordingly † *Romulus* himself
 officiated as Priest, and offered solemn Sacrifices
 to the Gods. And when *Rome* became *Imperial*,
 her Emperors did not disdain to wear the Title
 of *Pontifices Maximi*, nor to act accordingly.
 “ Amongst the ancient ‡ *Gauls*, their *Druids*
 “ presided over all divine Affairs and procured
 “ the publick and private Sacrifices. And besides
 “ this they determined in all publick and private
 “ Controversies in reference to Murthers, In-
 “ heritances, the Boundaries of Estates, Rewards
 “ and Punishments.” *Egyptians, Greeks, Ro-*
mans, and others in ancient Times, had their
 Priests in such high Honour, as that they not
 only committed to their Care the sacred Rites
 of their respective Religions, but employed them
 in the most honourable Services of the State,
 and consulted them as best able to advise them
 in all their civil Affairs of the utmost Import-
 ance and Consequence.

* Βασιλει μὲν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὰ δὲ τὰ γέγρα. Πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ
 θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, καὶ πάντα δὲ ἐκείνους πρᾶττεται τὰ πρὸς
 τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια. Id. ibid. p. 84.

† Id. ibid. p. 78.

‡ Illi [Druides] rebus divinis interfunt, sacrificia publica ac
 privata procurant, religiones interpretantur — fere de omnibus
 controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt — si cædes facta, si
 de hæreditate, de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt. Cæf.
 de Bel. Gal. l. 6. p. 224. 225. Ed. var.

'Tis true the Priests of Egypt were exempted from Taxes, and from all lower Employments, inconsistent with their Rank and Dignity. But even this Exemption was much more ancient than *Joseph*. * *Diodorus* tells us, that *Belus*, who lived Ages before *Joseph*, “ brought a Colony from *Egypt* into *Babylon* and that he exempted the Priests from all Taxes and Burthens, or burthensome Offices, in Conformity to the Constitution of *Egypt*,” hereby plainly intimating that the most ancient *Egyptians* had made this Settlement in reference to the Priests. And elsewhere speaking of the Priesthood, as it stood in the most early Ages amongst the *Egyptians*, after having mentioned how they attended on the King as his Council, he adds : † *These are free from all Burthens, or from all kind of Taxes and Offices; viz.* those honourable Employments of prime Dignity, of Senate, Counsel, and Advisers to the King, which he had just before mentioned, excepted. Nor was this Exemption from Offices and Taxes peculiar to the Priests. ‡ The *Calasries* and *Hermotybies*, which were the two Orders of Soldiery amongst the ancient *Egyptians*, were wholly confined to military Affairs, and

* Τῆς τε ἱερέας καὶ ἀρχιερέας παραπλησίως τοῖς κατ' Αἰγύπτου ἀτελεῖς καὶ πάσης ληϊστρίας ἀπολελυμένοι. Lib. 1. p. 24.

† Ἐἰσι δὲ οἱ παλίων ἀτελεῖς. Id. l. 1. p. 66.

‡ Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἀπάσι πρὸς ἐξασχρημένα. Herod. Euterp. c. 168. Γερὰ δὲ σφι ἦν τὰδε ἐξασχρημένα μνηοῖσιν Αἰγυπτίων παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀρχεῖα ἐξαιρέτοι δυνάμει ἐκείτω ἀτελεῖς. Id. ibid.

had each of them in their Turns this singular Honour allowed them, of having twelve *Arura* of Lands, each *Arura* containing an hundred *Egyptian* Cubits every way, exempt from all Duty or Impost whatsoever. Was this too the Constitution of *Joseph*? Whence he will prove that the Exemption of the Priests was made by *Joseph*, I am not able to devise: Yea I know he cannot do it. The sacred History is I am sure silent about it, and as to all other Authorities he can fetch from profane History, his Learning and Reading give me no Pain or Concern about them.

Ingeniosus est, et bono filo.

and he may probably supply the Want of Authority with Invention. But I will now produce something that looks extremely like direct Proof to the contrary, to confront all his Inventions in this Article; which is: That there was no Alteration made in the Priests Lands by *Joseph's* Law, that laid a Tax of the Fifth upon all the other Lands of *Egypt*; for as they did not alienate them to the Crown, they could not become subject to the common Impost. The Consequence of which is, that they were never subject to this Impost, neither before nor after *Joseph's* Laws; for if they had been subject to it before, the Exception that *they became not* Pharaoh's would have been impertinent, since they actually were his as to the Fifth, upon this Supposition;

position ; and if they had been subject to it after, the same Exception, that *they became not Pharaoh's as to this Fifth*, would have been absurd and contradictory.

6. Another extremely curious Discovery that he hath made is, that *the Priesthood now became hereditary*, viz. by *Joseph's* Management, and the Ordinance he obtained from the *Egyptian* King. And here also the Proof is just the same as under the foregoing Articles, the Philosopher's own *simple Word*, without a single Testimony to confirm it. All the Intimations of ancient History make the contrary extremely probable, I think I may say absolutely certain, viz. that the Priesthood in *Egypt* was from the most early Times hereditary, descending by a lineal Succession from Father to Son. * *Diodorus*, speaking of the most ancient Constitution of the *Egyptian* Priesthood, under their first Kings, tells us, “ that it was not amongst them as
“ amongst the *Greeks*, with whom one Man
“ or Woman obtained the Priesthood, but that
“ many were employed in the Sacrifices and
“ Worship of the Gods, and that they trans-
“ mitted the same Employment of Life to their
“ Posterity.” † *Herodotus*, who was several Ages before him, expressly says the same, that

* Ου γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, εἰς ἀνὴρ ἡ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρὰλλήλῃ, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ ἡμᾶς διὰ λείβουσι, καὶ τοὶ ἐγγόνους τὴν οἰομένην τε βίαν παραίξουσιν παραδίδουσι. Diod. l. 1. p. 66.

† Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ἕκ εἰς ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ — ἐπεὶ δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ τῆς οὐκ αἰσχρολογίας. Herod. Euterp. c. 37.

“ there

“ there is not only one Priest to each God, but
 “ many, of which one is Chief, and that when
 “ any one of them dies, his Son succeeds in his
 “ Room.” As to their holy Beasts he * says :
 “ They had each Beast separately Persons ap-
 “ pointed to take care of their Feeding, both
 “ Men and Women, and that this Honour de-
 “ scended from Father to Child.” This Consti-
 tution was as ancient as the Religion of *Egypt*,
 and that their brute Worship was ancients than
Joseph, will be made abundantly appear under
 the next Section.

And indeed this hereditary Succession of the
 Priesthood was nothing peculiar in *Egypt*, where
 almost all Employments of Life descended suc-
 cessively from Father to Son. In this manner
 † “ the military Order was transmitted down,
 “ that the Children considering the Valour of
 “ their Forefathers, might be excited to a noble
 “ Imitation of them.” Their ‡ Husbandmen
 also were “ bred up to Husbandry from their
 “ Infancy, and thus had the Benefit of their
 “ Forefather’s Observations as well as their own
 “ Experience to inform them.” It was the

* Μελεθωνοι αποδεδεχθαι της τροφης χωεις εκαστων, η ερσινες
 η θηλειαι των Αιγυπτίων των παις παρα παλῶν εκδεχθαι την
 τιμην. Id. ibid. c. 65.

† Ομως δε υτοι την ταξιν ταυτην εκ των πρεσβων διαδεχο-
 μενοι, ταις μεν των πρεσβων ανδραγαθιαις πρεσβεπονησαι προς
 την ανδρειαν, εκ παιδων δε ζηλωται γενομενοι των πολεμικων ερ-
 ζων. Diodor. l. p. 67.

‡ Εκ νηπις δε συνηρομενοι ταις γεωργικαις επιμελειαις —
 τα μεν εκ της των πρεσβων παρδρησεως μαθοντες, τα δ’ εκ
 της ιδίας πειρας διδωχεντες. Id. ibid.

same with regard to their * Shepherds, “ who
 “ received their Callings by an hereditary Law
 “ from their Progenitors.” Yea their very
 † Artificers and Tradesmen “ were not allowed
 “ to be of any other Employment or Order,
 “ but what was determined by Law and re-
 “ ceived from their Ancestors. In this man-
 “ ner, says *Diodorus*, was the *Egyptian* Po-
 “ lity divided or distinguished into Classes, so
 “ that the ancient Inhabitants of *Egypt* follow-
 “ ed every one the Business of his own Order
 “ as they had it from their Progenitors.” This
 Account is also confirmed by ‡ *Plato*, who was
 many Years elder than *Diodorus*, who relates
 the same Things of the *Egyptian* Constitution

* Ο δ' αὖτις λογῶν ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν νομῶν, οἱ τὴν τῶν δρεμ-
 μάων ἐπιμελείαν ἐκ πατέρων ὥσπερ κληρονομίας νομῶν ᾧ δαλαμ-
 κανόνες, ἐν βίῳ κτηνὸς τροφῶν διαίελοσι παῖτα ἢ τὴν ζῆν χρόνον. Id.
 ibid.

† Παρὰ μόνοις γὰρ τοῖσι οἱ δῆμιον καὶ τεχνίται πάντες ἐτ'
 ἐργασίας ἀλλῆς, ἢ πολιτικῆς τάξεως μεταλαμβάνειν εὐνται,
 πλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νομῶν οὐσίαν, καὶ ᾧ δα τῶν γονέων ᾧ δα δίδο-
 μένης — Τὴν μὲν ἐν διαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἰδίας
 τάξεως ἐπιμελείαν διὰ πατρῶν τοιαυτὴν ἔχον οἱ το παλαιὸν
 τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικούντες. Id. ibid. p. 68. Ἀπὸ τοῦ αὖτις τὰς
 αὐτὰς περὶ τῆς μεταχειρίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς τάξεως. Isocr. Bafir. Laudat.
 p. 224. viz. etiam Dicæarch. apud Scholiast. in Apol. Rhod.
 l. 4. v. 272.

‡ Πρῶτον μὲν, τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν χάρις ἀφω-
 ρισμένον· μετὰ δὲ τούτο, τὸ τῶν δῆμιον, ὅτι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκαστον,
 ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐκ ἐπιμνησμένου δῆμιον γένος. Τοῦ, τὸ τῶν νομῶν καὶ
 τῶν δῆμιον, τοῦ, τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ δὴ τὸ μαχίμων γένος
 ἡδίστα πρὸς τῆς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν γένων κεχωρισμένον, οἱ ἑδὲν
 ἀλλο πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἕκαστον τὸ νομὸν περὶ τῆς τάξεως
 μελῶν — Οὕτως πρὸς τὸν νομὸν τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμελείαν ἐποίησάτο
 εὐδὲς κατ' ἀρχάς. πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἀπᾶντα, μετὰ μαντικῆς καὶ
 ιατρικῆς πρὸς υγιείαν, ἐκ τῶν δῆμιον ὄντων εἰς τὰ ἀνθρώπων
 ἐξανευρῶν, ὅσα τὸ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπετα μαθημάτων πάντα κτησα-
 μένους. Tim. p. 24.

from

from its first Original, as it stood some thousand Years before his own Time, according to the Relation of the *Egyptians* themselves. He introduces *Critias* as giving an Account of a Conversation between *Solon* and an *Egyptian* Priest, in which the Priest tells *Solon* what was the State of *Egypt*, eight or nine thousand Years before, viz. first, that “ the Race of the Priests were
 “ separated and distinguished from the others,
 “ *i. e.* the Priesthood was made successive and
 “ hereditary ; after this that of the Artizans each
 “ was distinct by itself without intermixing
 “ with another ; then that of the Shepherds,
 “ Hunters and Husbandmen ; then that of the
 “ Soldiers is separated from other Kinds, who
 “ are obliged by Law to mind no other Con-
 “ cerns, but those relating to War. Thus you
 “ see how wisely the Law regulated every Thing
 “ *immediately from the Beginning*, even to Divi-
 “ nation and Physick, for the Preservation of
 “ Health, beginning from sacred Things, and
 “ going on to human, and discovering and
 “ adding what related to all other kind of Sci-
 “ ences and Professions whatsoever.” This is
 an Evidence which is of the greatest Antiquity,
 and though the carrying this History so far back
 as eight or nine thousand Years, may carry the
 Appearance of Fable, though there are proba-
 ble Ways of reconciling even this to Truth,
 yet as given by an *Egyptian* Priest, and taken
 from the sacred Records of *Egypt* themselves,
 renders the Testimony of *Diodorus* before re-
 lated

lated indisputable; and is a Demonstration, if in an Affair of such a Nature there can be such a Thing, that in the most ancient Times of *Egypt*, and its original Constitution, and first Settlement of its Kingdom and Government, the Priests, Tradesmen, Shepherds, Hunters, Husbandmen, Soldiers, Physicians, and all other Conditions and Employment of Life, were hereditary, and kept by Law from all Intermixture with each other; and that therefore the Priesthood was not made, as for any Thing the Philosopher can prove, hereditary by *Joseph*, but that long before his Birth they were in this respect absolutely independent of the Crown, and held neither their Profession nor Estates by his Leave, or at his Pleasure. But our Philosopher, equal only to himself, despises Probabilities, Authorities, and all other such Kind of Things. He is himself *the very Mint* of History, the Oracle of Intelligence, and the Depth of his Learning is his own Invention, and reaches no farther than to the mere Creatures of his own Imagination.

Some of my Readers possibly may not be displeased to be farther informed, that odd as this ancient Constitution of *Egypt* may seem to them, yet that it was by no means peculiar to the *Egyptians*. * There was somewhat resembling it in the ancient State of *Athens*, whose Inhabitants were divided into the *Eupatridæ* or Nobles, who were capable of the highest Honours; the Countrymen or Farmers, who were to bear

* D. S. p. 25.

Arms and go to War for the City ; the Artizans or Tradesmen, employed in Manufacturies, and the lower civil Offices and Affairs of the Commonwealth ; and this Resemblance is taken notice of both by *Diodorus* and *Plato*. * The *Egyptian* Priest in his Discourse to *Solon* tells him : “ Compare the Laws with ours here, “ for you will find many Instances of the ancient Customs in use amongst us at present “ here.” And then mentions the Settlement and Division of the Inhabitants, as before related. And after the Account immediately adds : “ You who inhabit this Country now “ make use of the same Laws.” They had also their *sacred Families*, such as the † *Eumolpidae* who presided over the Mysteries, the ‡ *Hefychides*, who presided over the Sacrifices to the *Eumenides*, the *Ceryces*, § a kind of Messengers and Servants, who were employed in ministerial Offices, and were called *Messengers of Jove*, because their Service was necessary in all Sacrifices, and in all Councils and Assemblies of Men ; and others, whose Honours were successive. Among the ancient *Indians*, their Philosophers, Husbandmen, Shepherds, Tradesmen, Soldiers, Questmen and Hunters, were all distinct and separate Classes, who were confined

* Τὸς μὲν ἐν νόμοις σκοπεῖ πρὸς τὴνδε, πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμοειδέσματα τῶν τῶτε παρ’ ὑμῖν ὄντων, ἐνθάδε νῦν ἀνευρησείς——Οἰκίαι τε ἐν δὴ νόμοις τὴ τοιούτοις χρωμένοι. *Plat. ibid*

† *Suid.* in voc. *Εὐμολπίδαι*. *Scholias.* ad *Sophoc. Oed. Col.* v. 1107.

‡ *Schol.* ad *Oedip. Colon.* ad ver. 502. *Callim. Frag. Bent.* 123.

§ *Hefych.* et *Phavorin.* in voce.

to their proper Professions and Busineſſes without intermixing with each other. * Between theſe Orders it was unlawful to intermarry, nor was any one allowed to exerciſe or carry on two Trades, nor to tranſlate himſelf out of one Profession to another. 'Twas thus alſo amongſt the *Arabians*, who were divided into five Claſſes, the Soldiers, the Huſbandmen, the Artiſicers, the Dealers in Myrrh, and the Traders in Frankincenſe, whoſe Employments were not transferred from one to another, but † who remained, each Claſs, in the Profession they received from their Forefathers. And finally, ‡ *Herodotus* relates much the ſame of the *Lacedemonians*, that “ they herein agree with the
 “ *Egyptians*, that Heralds, Muſicians and Cooks
 “ are all ſucceſſively brought up to the Em-
 “ ployments of their Fathers. So that a Mu-
 “ ſician hath a Muſician for his Son, a Cook a
 “ Cook, and an Herald an Herald, no other
 “ Perſon for the Clearneſs of his Voice being
 “ ſubſtituted in the room of an Herald; but
 “ all perſevering in the family Employments,” or receiving their reſpective Buſineſs by hereditary

* Γαμεῖν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεθ' ἔστιν, οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσι ἐκ τῆς δημιουργικῆς. ἢ ἐμπόλιν, ὅδε δύο τέχνας ἐπιπαιδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν, ὅδε τῷ θύμῳ, ὅδε ἀμειβεῖν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεθ' εἰς ἑτέρον, οἷον γεωργικὴν ἐκ νομέως ὑμῆσαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικῆς. *Arrian. Hitor. Jadic. p. 325. 3. 6. Edit. Gronov. Vid. etiam Strab. Geog. l. 15. p. 1029.*

† Οὐ μεταποιεῖται τὰ ἐπιπαιδεύματα ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πανήροισι διαμένουσιν ἐκαστοί. *Strab. l. 16. p. 1129.*

‡ Εὐδαιμονίαι τὰς παλαιὰς τέχνας — κατὰ τὰ παλαιοῖα ἐπιτελοῦσι. *Herod. l. 6. c. 60.*

Succession ; and as * he also tells us, the *Egyptians* were divided into several Classes, Priests, Soldiers and others, whose several Families by a perpetual Succession inherited the Employments they were brought up to from Father to Son ; a Constitution this as old as the original Settlement of the Kingdom, and which shews the Impertinence and Falsehood of the Philosopher's Remark, that the *Egyptian* Priesthood was first made hereditary by *Joseph*.

7. Another Curiosity he presents us with is, that *Joseph, upon the Strength of his Alliance with the High-Priest, had managed Matters so well, as to have divided the whole Power and Property of Egypt between the Church and the Crown.* † The Lands of *Egypt* were divided under their first Kings into three Parts. The first belonged to the *Priests*, for the procuring Sacrifices and maintaining the Persons employed in their sacred Ceremonies ; the second Division belonged to the *Kings*, for their Revenues, for the Expences of War, and to maintain their Splendor ; to enable them to distribute Rewards to Merit, and to prevent their loading their Subjects with Taxes. The third and last Part was apportioned to the *Soldiers*, to encourage them the better to defend their Country, by the large Share of Property in it with which they were invested. And as

* Lib. 2. c. 163, &c.

† Της δε χάρις απάσης εις τρία μέρη διηρημένης, την μὲν πρώτην εχει μεριδα το συστημα των ιερων — Την δε δευτεραν μοιραν οι βασιλεις παραληφασι — Την δε μεριδα την τελευταίαν εχουσιν οι μαχιμοι καλυμενοι. Diod. l. 1. p. 66. 67.

the whole Country was thus divided, and the Property lodged originally in the King, the Priests and Soldiery, what Property could remain for the rest of the People? The Truth of the Case seems to be, that the Husbandmen and Shepherds rented these Lands of the King, the Priests, and the Soldiers at *certain annual Rents*, by which they provided for themselves and Families. 'Tis probable, that before *Joseph's* Time these Rents were not *stated* and settled, and that the Farmers were frequently oppressed by the Soldiers, or those who collected the royal Revenues. However upon the Famine they willingly resigned them all, as having no Food, nor Corn to sow, nor Rent to pay. And I think this Circumstance is the only one that can account for *the Readiness* of the *Egyptians* to resign their Estates to the Crown; because they had originally no absolute Property in them, but held them of the Crown and others, only as *Tenants*, and for which they paid certain annual Rents. But being now absolutely disabled from paying them, because they could not sow their Lands, they were glad wholly to restore them to the Crown of whom they rented them. These Estates were indeed *a kind of Inheritance* to them, as they possessed and cultivated them from Father to Son, and maintained their Families by the Produce of them. And therefore they said to *Joseph*, *Buy us and our Land*, and the Historian says, *they sold every Man his Field*; because they made this Surrender of the Lands they

they had long successively occupied, through immediate Want of Bread. But it is not in the least intimated, that these Lands were *absolutely* their own, so as to be a *freehold Possession*, and void of the Incumbrance of all Rents to their superiour Lords. If the *Egyptians* had been thus free, and invested with this absolute Property in their Estates, I imagine they would, like other free Men, have had Spirit and Resolution enough to have opened the Granaries in the Time of a general Famine for their Relief, without meanly submitting to sell in a Body their Freeholds, their *patrimonial Estates*, for Bread; or at least that they would have bravely perished in the Attempt, had they failed in it. But it was natural for Men, who were only Tenants to others, and paid an yearly Price for their Lands, gladly to resign them in such a long continued Dearth, and thankfully to accept a Maintenance from the Crown, and promise to become the Servants of it immediately upon granting it. Now in this View of the Case, what becomes of our Philosopher's Charge against *Joseph*, that *he divided the whole Property of Egypt between the Church and the Crown*? In reality he made no Alteration of Property. He left the Crown and Church only what they each had before. He did indeed kindly ease the People of a Burthen they could not sustain, took back the Estates they rented into his Hands because they could not pay those Rents, supplied them liberally with Food at *Free-cost*, whilst

the Scarcity lasted, gave them as freely Seed to sow their Lands, when the Lands became capable of receiving it, restored each to his paternal Inheritance, and to prevent all future Burthens and Oppressions of the People, fixed their Rents to a fifth Part of the Produce, whereby those Rents became for the future equally easy in Time of Scarcity or Plenty ; since whether they produced more or less, it was only *a proportionable Fifth* that could be demanded of the Occupiers. In spite therefore of this Philosopher, *Joseph's* Glory shall remain unhurt, and his Moderation, Equity and Compassion appear illustrious to all succeeding Generations. *The Archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him and hated him, but his Bow shall abide in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands be made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of Jacob. The Blessing of Heaven shall be on the Head of Joseph, and on the Crown of the Head of him that was separate from his Brethren.* Once more

8. Our Philosopher charges him with *introducing such an absolute Power in Church and State into Egypt, as never had been known in the World before.*

Non potest esse preciosior Homo.

This Writer surely is the wisest and *most learned Man*, and the best versed in Antiquity of any one living this Day in the whole World. For he can tell, it seems, what no one else I am

sure can do, what were the Constitutions in Church and State amongst all Nations of the Earth, and particularly what it was in *Egypt*, from the Beginning, and even from the very Foundation of the World, to the Time of *Joseph's* Advancement by *Pharaoh*; else he would not have ventured with *such Assurance* and Positiveness to have affirmed, in the Face of all Mankind, and under the venerable and sacred Character of *a moral Philosopher*, that *Joseph's* Favour with the King of *Egypt* introduced there such an absolute Power in Church and State, as had never been know in the World before. If he be that moral Philosopher he pretends, he must not only be acquainted with the History and Constitutions of all the several States and Kingdoms, that ever existed from the Foundation of the World to *Joseph's* Time, but he must have *critically compared* them all with the *Egyptian* Government as altered and settled by *Joseph*; otherwise it will be *great Immorality, Falsehood and Imposture* publickly to throw out such an Assertion as this; merely to calumniate the Memory of one of the greatest and best Men that ever lived, and to vilify and destroy one of *the fairest and most excellent Characters*, that History transmits to us. If he hath this Knowledge, let him shew it to the World; if he hath made the Comparison, let him lay it before his Readers, that they may judge of it as well as himself. But he knows himself that *he hath not* this Knowlege, and

that he is an incompetent Judge of the Affair in which he takes on him to assert with so much Confidence. If one may judge of *Nimrod's* Character by the little that is said of him in Scripture, he appears to have been a *very tyrannical Prince*. His very Name signifies * *the Rebel*. *He began to be a mighty one in the Earth*; raised himself to great Power by War and Conquest. *He was a mighty Hunter*, he became mighty by hunting before the Lord, or raised himself to Power and Empire by Violence and Oppression; for in this Sense of *hunting* the original Word חַיָּה is frequently used. And had *Joseph* in reality rendered the Government of Egypt *intirely arbitrary*, the Philosopher would be hard put to it to prove, that he made it more arbitrary than *Nimrod's*. But enough hath been said under the foregoing Articles to destroy the very Foundation of this Charge. Lastly

9. He asserts, that *the Priesthood being now hereditary and independent, this gave the Priests an Opportunity and Power to work up the People into the highest and grossest Degrees of Superstition*; as though it were absolutely in the Power of the Priests of *Egypt* to introduce what Superstitions they pleased amongst the People. But this also happens to be *false in fact*, as far as the Remains of Antiquity can guide us. As the Superstitions of *Egypt* were of ancient Date, and originally introduced by their Gods, their Kings and Princes, the ancient Priests looked on

* Gen. x. 8.

themselves as inviolably bound to maintain those ancient Prescriptions. They thought it, says * *Diodorus, unlawful to change the Worship of the Gods*, but that their Honours should always be performed by the same Persons and in the same Manner. They also † esteemed it a most wicked Thing to sail from *Egypt* into a foreign Country, being afraid of introducing foreign Luxury and Manners; and they thought this only lawful for those, who were forced to it by the King's Affairs. They used frequently to discourse with one another, about *adhering to their Ancestor's Customs*, and if any of them were convicted of transgressing them in the smallest Matter, they were expelled from the Priesthood. And the People were in this respect as tenacious as their Priests. They refuse, says ‡ *Herodotus*, all *Greek Customs*, and to say all at once, *they will by no means conform to the Laws and Usages of any other Men*; and being contented with the Laws they derive from their Forefathers, they will admit of no Addition to

* Ουτε γαρ τις των θεων τιμας ωντο δειν αλλαττειν, αλλ' ~~αυτων~~ των αυτων αει η παραπλησιως συντελεισθαι. Diod. l. 1. p. 66.

† Οιγα εν πικ ασβεστατοις επιτελλο πλεον απ' Αιγυπτου, διευλαθεσθαι ξενικας τρυφας η επιτηδευματα. Μοις γαρ οσιν εδωκε τις κατὰ τας βασιλικας χρειας απηναγχεσθαιεναις. Πολυς δε η τελοις ην λογος οσει τε εμμεναι τοις παλαις' μηδε δ' ει καλαγναισθαιεν ~~ο~~ θαβαινοντες, απηλαυοντο. Porphyg. de acad. l. 4. §. 8.

‡ Ελληνικοι δε νομοισι φευγοι χεσθαι. Το δε συμπαν ειπεν, μηδ' αλλων μηδαμια μηδαμων ανθρωπων νομοισι. Liv. 2. c. 91. Παλαιοι δε χεωμανοι νομοισι, αλλων εδερα επικτησθαιπιτι. Ibid. c. 78.

be made to them. So that it is no small * Difficulty to persuade an *Egyptian* to have a mean Opinion of what he hath received from his Forefathers, and not to think this or the other irrational Animal not to be a God, or to refuse to die rather than to eat of their Flesh ; or as † *Porphyry* expresses it, the *Egyptians* thought animals Gods, and therefore abstained from them equally as from human Flesh. Such a Disposition in Priests and People was the greatest Hindrance to all Innovations and Changes.

Nor do I think upon the old *Egyptian* Constitution, that it was in the least probable that the Priests had a Power of introducing what Kind of Superstitions they pleased ; for originally the King ‡ was chosen, either from amongst the Priests themselves, or the Soldiery. If from the Soldiery, he immediately entered himself into the Number of the Priests, and was § initiated into all their secret Mysteries. By this Means, the Prince knew all the Secrets of the Priesthood, and was in many Things able to controul them, and, if a Prince of Spi-

* Ου τυχώς γέν Αιγυπτίον πείσαι αν τις καταφρονήσαι ων εκ πατερων παρεληφεν, ωσε μη νομισαδαι δεον τοδε το αλογον ζων, η μεχει θανάτω φυλαξασθαι στο τοδε τε ζωε κρεων απεχεσθαι. Origen. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 368.

† Εξ αυτων εξ ισθ η των ανθρωπων απεχνηο. De abstin. l. 3. p. 119.

‡ Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

§ Αιγυπτίοι ο τοις επιτυχσι τα παρ σφισι ανετιδενηο μυστηρια, — αλλ' η μονοις γε τοις μελλουσι επι βασιλειαν περιεναι, η των ιερεων τοις — δοκιμωτατοις. Clem. Alex. p. 670. Edit. Potter.

rit and Resolution, unquestionably would do it, whenever his own Interest, or that of his People required it; whereby the Priesthood became, if not in a great Measure dependent on the Crown in all their *priestly Operations*, yet at least greatly restrained and limited in the Exercise of their Power.

Indeed the *Egyptians* seemed to have guarded against all Kind of Innovations by their Laws, both in Spirituals and Temporals, and to have tied down every Thing as unalterably as they could. There was, as we have already seen, no Change allowed in the Conditions and Employments of their several Classes of Men; but what they once were, their Families always continued to be. *Egypt* was not only * remarkable for the Number of her *spiritual Physicians*, but of her *temporal ones* too, which being divided into several Classes, were each appropriated to the Cure of particular Disorders. They had one Set of Doctors for *the Head*, another for *the Eyes*, another for *the Teeth*, another for *the Belly*, and another for *occult Diseases*. Every Place swarmed with Physicians†, and they were

* Η δὲ ἰατρικὴ κατὰ τὰς σφί δεδασται. Μῖνι νοσὲς ἐκαστὸς ἰατρὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ πλεονων. Πᾶντα δ' ἰατρῶν ἐστὶ πλεῖα. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οφθαλμῶν ἰατρὸν κατεστάσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ νῆδον, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανῶν νοσῶν. Herod. Euterp. c. 84.

† Οἱ γὰρ ἰατροὶ τὰς μὲν τέρας ἐκ τῶ κοινῷ λαμβάνονσι, τὰς δὲ θεραπείας προσάγουσι κατὰ νόμον ἐγχεῖσθαι, ὑπο πολλῶν καὶ δεδωσμένων ἰδίων συγχεχρμένον. Καν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἰερός βίβλου νόμοις ἀναγινωσκόμενοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἀδυνατοῦσι σωσαι τὸν καμνόντα, ἀδωσι παντὶ ἐγκληματι ἀπολύναι. εἰ δὲ πῶς τὰ γυγασμένα πεινῶσι, θάνατον κρίσιν ὑπομένουσιν. Diod. Sic. l. i. 74.

maintained

maintained by the Publick, and obliged to apply only such Methods of Cure as were according to *Law established*, and which had been prescribed by the ancient Sages of Physick. If they could not save the poor Patient by the *old orthodox Dispensatory*, they incurred no blame by his dying; but if they innovated and used any *heterodox Prescriptions*, the Doctors were put to death themselves as *Hereticks in Physick*, if the Patient died under them. Besides this, there was an established *publick Orthodoxy* as to *Painting and Musick in Egypt*, which had been always kept *inviolable*, as far as it regarded the Religion of the Country, and from which no Deviations were ever allowed. The *Egyptians* * imagined that the Youth in their Cities should

* Καλα μὲν ἡνιμαία. καλὰ δὲ μέλη δε μεταχειρίζεσθαι ταῖς συνθημαῖς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέας. Ταξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα, ἀτὰρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅππῃ ἀτὰρ, ἀπερῆσαν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. Καὶ ὅσα ταῦτα ἐκ ἐξην ὅτε ζωγραφοὶς ὅτ' ἀλλοῖς, ὅππῃ ἡνιμαία καὶ ὅππῃ ἀτὰρ ἀπεργάζονται, καὶ νομοῖται, καὶ ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλ' ἀτὰρ ἢ τὰ παλαιά. Οὐδὲ νῦν ἐξέστιν ὅτ' ἐν τέτοις, ὅτ' ἐν μουσικῇ συμπαση. Σκοπὸν δ' εὐρησεῖς αὐτοὶ τα μύριον ἐπὶς μελεσμένα, ἢ τετυπωμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶς ἐπὶς μύριον, ἀλλ' ὅπως, τῶν νῦν δεδημεργημένων ὅτε πικαλλίονα, ὅτ' αἰσθῶ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπεργασμένα. *Doctissimus Serranus non videtur cepisse sensum hujus loci. Ita vertit. Decere nimirum ut adolescentes, in bene moratis civitatibus, suscipiant consuetudine atque induant præclaros habitus, præclaramque quandam consonantiam. Hæc in hunc modum, quacunque tandem ratione sunt constituta, in ipsis sacrificiis significantur — Quod si ea observares illis in locis, comperires a decem annorum millibus retro vel scripta vel expressa, &c. Sed, ni fallor, ἡνιμαία et μέλη non sunt præclari habitus, et præclara consonantia, ut putavit vir doctus, sed omnino referenda sunt ad τὰς ζωγραφὰς et τὴν μουσικὴν, ut patet ex toto contextu. Locum integrum sic verto. Decere nimirum, ut adolescentes in civitatibus sese usu continuo exercent in pulchris quibusdam figuris et pulchris quibusdam carminibus. Quæ et qualia hæc sunt significarunt in sacris, vel in sacris libris, hi qui primo*

should be inured and accustomed to exercise themselves in forming certain Pictures, and singing certain Songs, which were adjudged by the Publick to be good and right, even such as were exhibited and used in their sacred Rites. And besides these it was not lawful for Painters or others, who made any kind of Draughts whatsoever, to make any Innovations, or invent any other kind than what their Country had appointed. Neither, says *Plato*, is it lawful to this Day to do it, neither in these Things, nor in any Part of their Musick. And if you consider it, you will find that here, *viz.* in *Egypt*, their Paintings and Figures for ten thousand Years past are neither better nor worse than those which are now made, but that they are all finished exactly according to the same Art. And as to their Musick, he says, * that the *Egyptians* affirm, that the sacred Songs which have been preserved for so long a Time, were the very Poems of *Isis* herself; and that it seemed there absolutely impossible to corrupt them, and that every Appearance was to the Contrary.

instituerunt. Et præter hæc non licet neque pictoribus, neque qui figuras quælibet effingunt, novi aliquid in medium proferre, neque aliud quidquam excogitare, quam quod patriæ legibus comprobatur. Neque in hunc usque diem licet vel in his, vel in universa Musica. Quod si ea observares illis in locis comperies, a decem annorum millibus retro, non ut ita dicam, sed revera decem millibus, vel picturas vel figuras, iis quæ nunc ab artificibus fiunt, neque pulchriores, neque turpiores, sed eadem illa arte omnino efformatas. Sed de his doctiores Judicent. Plat. de Leg. l. 2. p. 656.

* Εκεί φασι τὰ τὸν πλὺν τῶτον σῶσθ' ὡς ἔστιν, καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος ποιήματα γέγενεαι. Τὴν γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἑδάμῳς εἰσεκεῖ δυνάστη γενέσθαι διαφθεῖραι. Παν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον. Id. ibid. p. 657.

For thus I render the last Words of this Passage. Agreeable to this * *Herodotus* tells us, that they had a Song made on Occasion of the Death of the only Son of the first *Egyptian* King, which they constantly sing, and that this was the first and only one they made use of on this Occasion. *Plato* himself had been in *Egypt*, and curiously observed these Things; and there can be no stronger Testimony to the long *Immutability* of the *Egyptian* Rites and Ceremonies of Religion. As it was not lawful to make any Innovations in them, so neither had there been any made for some thousand Years past; and therefore the *Egyptian* Priests neither could, nor did introduce these gross Superstitions, which the Philosopher imagines they did, by the Constitution of *Joseph*. And as *Joseph* prevented their making any farther Acquisitions in Land, he dried up the Source of those Gains they might otherwise have made, and thereby cut off one main Inducement to encrease their original Superstitions, if they had had it ever so much in their Power to have done it.

* Φαινόνται δὲ αἱ καὶ τὰς αἰσίντες — καὶ αἰσίντες δὲ τὰς αἰσίντες καὶ μὲν στίσι γενέσθαι. 1. 2. c. 79.

C H A P. XII.

Of Chymistry, Natural Magick and Experimental Philosophy.

JOSEPH having, according to our Philosopher's Imagination, made *the Priesthood independent, and hereditary, and the Priests being now incredibly rich, and having all the Means of Knowledge and natural Experiments in their Power, they set themselves to the Study of Chymistry, natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy; all which they kept as deep Secrets, and sacred Mysteries, to themselves, and made it all pass with the ignorant enslaved Vulgar for Miracles, Revelation, Prophecy, and immediate divine Power.** This is extremely curious, and judiciously observed. *They kept all these Things as deep Secrets to themselves, and made them pass with the Vulgar for Revelation; or they kept them as Mysteries to themselves, and made them pass with the Vulgar for Prophecies.* This is truly mysterious and oracular. What did they make pass for Revelation and Prophecy? Why, Chymistry, natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy. Happy Invention! that could suggest these *new Species* of Prophecy, these secret, occult Kinds of Revelation! What

* Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

consummate Knowledge and Learning is here; thus to let us into the Original and Date of all Arts and Sciences, even those that are the most wonderful and curious! What Thanks would not the learned World have paid him, had he produced either his Reasons, or Authorities?

They set themselves to the Study of Chymistry. It may be so; but as I cannot prove absolutely they did not, so I understand *the Depth* of our Author's Abilities so well, as to be absolutely sure that he cannot prove they did. However, as he makes the Invention of Chymistry as old as about the Times of *Joseph*, I can tell him of *a very celebrated Author*, that makes it much older; one whose Judgment in Chymistry and Physick was at least *almost equal* to that of our Author's: I mean *the very learned Dr. Boerhaave*. He tells us*, that 'tis of so ancient a Date, that 'tis supposed to have been in Use before the Flood, and to have been revealed to the Daughters of Men by Dæmons, as an Acknowledgment of their Favours. According to this Account, Chymistry was of *demoniacal*, and *female*, and not *priestly* Original. The same Author farther tells us, that 'twas first cultivated in *Asia*, and next carried into *Egypt*, and there practised with a vast deal of Application; and that, as *Plutarch* observes, the very Country itself was called, in the sacred Language of the Priests, *χημία* *Chemia*. I shall not take on me to confute this Opinion of the

* Boerh. Chemist. init.

learned *Boerhaave*; I shall leave that to the more learned Philosopher, and only observe, that *Egypt* is called *Chemia*, from **חם** *Cham*, the youngest Son of *Noah*, which signifies *hot*, or *black*, by the scorching of the Sun; whereas **כִּמְיָה** *Chemia*, as it signifies *Chymistry*, is quite another Word, and comes from **כִּמְ** which signifies to *cover* and *conceal*; and that therefore as the Words and their Roots are different, nothing can be collected from the Name *Chemia*, by which *Egypt* was called, to prove that Chymistry was anciently in Use amongst the *Egyptians*.

As Chymistry includes *Metallurgy*, or the Art of working in Metals, this indeed was antienter than the Flood; for *Tubal Cain*, or *Vulcan*, was himself an Artificer, and the *Instructor of every Artificer in Brass and Iron*†, and therefore knew how to separate these Substances from their Ore, and to reduce and compose them into solid Bodies, agreeable to ‡ *Sanchoniatho's* Fragment; that from *Venator* and *Piscator* descended two Brothers, the Inventors of Iron, and the manufacturing it, of whom one was called *Chryſor*, and that this is *Vulcan*. And there is no Doubt but that the Knowledge of Chymistry, in this Sense, was as ancient as the first Foundation of the *Egyptian* Empire, some hundred Years before *Joseph* was born.

† Gen. iv. 22.

‡ Εξ αν γενεθαι δυω αδελφες, σιδιρς ευρετας, κ' της τελης εργασις, ον διαλεγον τον Χρυσορ — ειναι δε τελον τον Ηφαιστον. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

As

As Chymistry denotes the Art by which the purest Gold might be procured from any Sort of Metal, by a *real Transmutation*, or some secret mystical Kind of Alteration; this appears to have been a comparatively late Doctrine, and of an uncertain Original, as 'tis a very idle and impracticable one. *Suidas* *, indeed, makes the Art to be older than the *Argonautick Expedition*, and tells us, that they engaged in it not for *the golden Fleece*, as the Poets fabulously relate it, but to get *a certain Book* that was written in Skins, containing the Art how Gold might be made by Chymistry. In this Manner, says *Bochart*, an unknown Author trifles in *Suidas*; where *the learned Editor* subjoins in a Note, that *Charax*, cited by *Eustathius* in his Notes on *Dionysius*, was of the same Opinion. If I may be allowed to pass the Censure on that learned Author, I think he *was mistaken* in the Observation. *Eustathius* † his Words are: *Charax* says that the golden Fleece was a *Treatise of writing in gold Letters* contained in Parchment, upon Account of which, as worthy Regard, the Argonautick Expedition was undertaken. *Χρυσογραφία*, is the *Art of writing in gold Letters*, and not of *making Gold*; and therefore this Testimony is no Confirmation of *Suidas*; nor is there any Probability that there was any such

* In voce *Δερμας*. Edit. Kuß.

† Ο χαράξ το χρυσόν δερμα μέθοδον εἶναι λέγει χρυσογραφίας μεμβρανῆς εὐπτέειλημμένην, δι' ἣν, ὡς λέγει Ἀζίαν, τὸν τῆς ἀργύρου κατασκευάζει πλόν. Eustat. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 689. p. 123. Edit. Hudson.

Kind of Treatise of so ancient a Date. The same * Author tells us also, that *Dioclesian* got together all the Books that were written by the ancient *Egyptians* concerning the chemical Preparations of Gold and Silver, and burnt them, that the *Egyptians* might no longer grow rich by this Art, nor any more rebel against the *Romans* through Confidence in their Riches. But the ridiculous Reason assigned for *Dioclesian's* destroying these chemical Books, destroys the Probability of the Thing itself. For as Chemistry is in this Respect a most *idle Cheat*, the *Roman* Empire could be in no Danger of the *Egyptians* rebelling from any Riches they could procure by this Art. Nor is *Suidas* his Authority sufficient to confirm the Fact. Concerning the Art it self, † *Bochart* doth not scruple to affirm, that it is a late Invention, and that there is no Author who so much as mentions it before *Julius Firmicus*, who was Contemporary with the Emperor *Constantine*; and though there is a Passage in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, which may seem to favour the Antiquity of this Art, yet *Bochart* hath proved from *Scaliger*, that it is an Interpolation by Reasons that are unanswerable. ‡ To this I will add the Testimony of another modern learned Writer, cited by *Fabricius*, *La Croze*, *vir supra laudes*, as *Fabricius* styles him, who in a

* Vocib. Διοκλητιανῶ et Χημεία.

† Geog. Sic. p. 206. 207.

‡ Fabric. Bibl. Græc. Vol. VI. p. 808.

Letter to *J. C. Wolfius*, containing Remarks on a supposititious Writing ascribed to *Athenagoras*, in which there is an allegorical Account of a chemical Process, hath these Words: "I am not
 " ignorant of the manuscript Books ascribed to
 " *Democritus*, *Zosimus*, *Synesius*, *Olympiodorus*
 " and others, which are cried up as wonder-
 " fully ancient, in which are contained the
 " Secrets of the chemical Art. I find learned
 " Men have proved the Lateness of these Books,
 " by the Corruptions of the *Greek* Language
 " with which they abound. One I know, a
 " little older, *Æneas Gaza*, a Writer at the
 " end of the fifth Century, who seems to have
 " mentioned somewhat of the Transmutation
 " of Metals. This single Testimony is the only
 " one that occurs to me in all Antiquity, which
 " the Chemists can produce in support of their
 " Art; unless any one imagines that that Pas-
 " sage of * *Plato* may be applied in favour of
 " it, where he says: *That if we could make*
 " *golden Stones, it would be an useless Art. For*
 " *unless we know how to use Gold, it would be of*
 " *no manner of Advantage to us.* I have indeed
 " found that most of the Adepts in Chemistry
 " are so credulous, as that I doubt not but some
 " of them may think, that *Plato* pointed at
 " their Art." Had this gold-finding Chemistry
 been of any great Antiquity amongst the *Egypt-*

* Ως εἴ' εἰ τὰς πλείους χρυσαὺς ἐπισκομεῖται ποιῆν, ἔδειξ' αὖ
 αἴτιαν ἢ ἐπισκομῆν εἶν'· εἰ γὰρ μὴ κεχρησμένοι ἐπισκοσσομεῖται τῷ χρυσῷ,
 οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ὠφελος. *Plato* in *Euthyd.* p. 288.

tians, it is impossible but that *Herodotus*, who wrote his History near four hundred and fifty Years before Christ, travelled into *Egypt*, was intimate with the *Egyptian* Priests, and very inquisitive as to the peculiar Customs and Manners of the Country, must have known something of it, and related it ; and his utter silence on this Article, and the least mention not being made of it by *Diodorus Siculus*, or *Strabo*, will be allowed by all candid Persons to carry a strong Probability, that this Species of Chemistry was a Thing wholly unknown to the *Egyptian* Priests in their Time, or at least that they were not remarkable Adept's and Proficients in it. As my Philosopher joins *Chemistry* with *natural Magick*, and occult experimental Philosophy, one would be apt to understand him of this kind. And it would be extremely obliging, if he would point out some one Treatise of the ancient *Egyptian* Priests, in which they treat of the *Philosophers Stone* ; especially if he could give us that very curious Sight of one of their *Processes* for transmuting Metals into Gold.

But yet there is another kind of Chemistry used, viz. for medicinal Purposes ; by which the more pure and useful Parts of Bodies, and principally mineral, are by Fire and a great deal of Art, separated from the more gross and useless ; in opposition to the *Galenick Method* of cure by Herbs and Roots compounded, and made into Decoctions. As by the former kind of Chemistry some Persons were weak enough to imagine

they could find out a Method to transmute other Metals into Gold, so others pretended that by applying Chemistry to Medicine they could find out *an universal Remedy* for curing all Sorts of Distempers. I should be glad to know of the Philosopher, whether any of the *Egyptian* Priests boasted of this Skill, whether they lived before or after the Time of *Joseph*, and his *Sesostris*, in what Age of the World they flourished, what were their Names, what Works they left, what Authors make mention of them; in a Word, who they were, and where they are to be found? I humbly conceive that this *chemical Panacea* is a late Invention, as indeed is almost the whole Process of chemical Preparations in Physick, which neither *Hippocrates*, nor *Celsus*, nor *Galen*, nor any of the most ancient Physicians, knew or practiced much of. Preparations of this kind, as a distinct Part of the *Materia Medica*, and as now used in Physick, and reduced into a proper Art and Science by it self, are of no great Antiquity, but comparatively of *modern Date*. And if I am here mistaken, this learned Physician, who is so intimately acquainted with all the ancient Sages and Writers of the Profession, and who to be sure can't be less versed in them, than he is in the *Egyptian* Antiquities, will have an ample Field to shew his Reading and Learning, and check my Presumption for daring to interpose my Judgment in an Affair that doth not immediately belong to me. I assure him I will
yield

yield to Conviction, and endeavour to profit by his Admonitions. Upon the whole, as Chemistry is thus in its nature so extensive an Art, and as the Philosopher hath kept it, in Imitation of his *Egyptian* Priests, *a deep Secret and Mystery to himself* which kind of it he means, so I prophecy when ever he reveals it to the World, it will turn out like the rest of his Discoveries, an absurd and idle Tale.

2. But though this Philosopher knows nothing about the Antiquity and original of *Chemistry*, hath he not hit of the affair of *natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy*? I should be able to give a better Answer to such a Question, if I could be sure what he intended by his *Magick*, and *occult Philosophy*. But this it self is as yet *occult*. Natural Magick is, if I understand it, such a Knowledge and Application of natural and material Principles and Causes, whereby wonderful and surprising Effects, though *altogether natural*, are produced; and in this View of it is exactly the same with natural *experimental Philosophy*, which may be called *occult*, because the Methods of making these Experiments and producing these Effects are known, comparatively, but to a very few People. Now if he means this by his natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy; then we have another quite new Discovery from this *Oracle of Sciences* for the *Virtuosi* of the present Age, *viz.* that the Knowledge of natural and experimental Philosophy, was the Ef-

fect of *Joseph's* Prime Ministry, because invented in or soon after his Time, and was first cultivated, upon the Foundation that he had laid, by the Priests of *Egypt*. I am not in an Humour to deny this, because it will be somewhat to *Joseph's* Credit, as it makes him *the Mæcenas* of that Age, and the great Patron of Literature and Knowledge in *Egypt*. Nor do I think the Riches, which our Philosopher says he bestowed on the Priests, would have been very ill bestowed, had they employed them in promoting this exceeding useful Branch of Science and Learning. But though I am disposed to allow every Thing that can make for the Credit of *Joseph's* Character, yet I should be glad of some Proof of the Thing, and hope he can trace out this Affair in the Writings of the Ancients. Nay, I despair not from *so sagacious* a Philosopher, that we shall have some few of these magical Tricks, and *Egyptian* Experiments themselves laid before the World, to enrich the Republick of Learning. It will immortalize his Name, and add somewhat to the Morality of his Character.

If by natural Magick he means that kind of Magick for which the *Egyptians* and the *Eastern* Nations were formerly famous, he calls it very improperly *natural Magick*. For the ancient Magicians dealt oftentimes in such kind of Tricks as had no dependence on natural Causes, and the Knowledge of natural Philosophy.

* Their

* Their Magick promised wonderful and even divine Discoveries from Water, from the Spheres, from the Air, from the Stars, from Lamps, from Platters, Axes and the like Things. They pretended also to commune with Ghosts and Spirits. Their Art and Power consisted in the Interpretation of Dreams, foretelling the Events of Mens Lives, as to the Good and Evil that should happen to them, whether the Harvest should be good or bad, what Diseases should happen to Men and Cattle, with other Things of the like Nature. *Maimonides* † reckons three Species of this sort of Magick; the first relating to Plants, Animals and Metals. The second determining the Time when their Operations were to be done, *i. e.* what were *lucky* or *unlucky* Days, or Hours or Seasons. The third consisted in certain Gestures and Actions, such as dancing, clapping the Hands together, crying out, laughing, lying flat on the Earth, burning of any Thing, raising of Smoke, and muttering certain Words and Expressions. These says he are the Species of Magick. He farther adds, that no magick Operation can be performed without the Consideration of, and Respect had to the Stars; for that they imagined every Plant, Animal and Metal peculiarly belonged and related to some certain Star; and that the Opera-

* Namque et ex aqua et ex sphaeris et ex aere et stellis et lucernis ac pelvibus, securibusque et multis aliis modis divina promittit. Præterea umbrarum inferorumque colloquia. Plin. Nat. Histor. l. 30. c. 2.

† M. Nev. p. 444.

tions they performed were Instances of Worship to these Stars, and that they were delighted with such an Action, Word or Smoke, and for the Sake of it gave whatever was desired. And therefore he lays it down as a Rule universally true, that *every Magician is undoubtedly an Idolater.*

And agreeably we read in the sacred Writings that these Magicians were in all the idolatrous Nations of *Canaan*, and that their Practices are reckoned amongst those Abominations, for which God was pleased to dispossess them of their Country. * *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the Abominations of those Nations. There shall not be found amongst you, any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the Fire, † by which Rite they were consecrated to Moloch, and as the superstitious Observers of that Ceremony imagined, preserved from Death; or that useth Divination; the original Word מנחש signifies, as the learned Schulten's remarks, sagittis sortibusque diremit, He determined it by Lots or Arrows, and so denotes the ancient βελομαγτεία, or Divination by Arrows, an Instance of which we have in the King of Babylon, Ezek. xxi. 21, 22. Or an Observer of Times; the Word signifies that kind of Divination that was made by observing the Face of the Heaven, the Motion or Figure of the Clouds, the Passage and Appearance of Me-*

* Deut. xviii. 9.—12. † M. Nev. p. 448, 449.

teors, Thunders, Lightnings and the like ; or an *Enchanter*, the Word seems to point out one who foretold lucky or unlucky Days ; or a *Witch*, or a *Charmer*, or a *Consulter with familiar Spirits*, properly the *εγγαστριμυθος* of the Greeks ; or a *Wizard*, or a *Necromancer*, Heb. *he that enquires of the Dead*, an Instance of which we have in the *Witch of Endor*. *All that do these Things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.*

* *Pliny* tells us, it had its first rise undoubtedly in *Persia*, and it is certain that it was very anciently in *Egypt*, in one or more of the different Species of it, and in high Repute even before *Joseph's* Time, or his Appearance at the *Egyptian* Court. For when *Pharaoh* had dreamt his two Dreams, *it came to pass in the Morning, that his Spirit was troubled, and he sent and called for all the Magicians of Egypt, and all the wise Men thereof* †. The Word *הרפת* we render *Magicians* is of an uncertain Original. Mr. *Fuller* ‡ thinks it comes from *הרט* *Sculpsit*, He carved or engraved, because these Magicians made use of certain superstitious Characters, Figures or Images, in performing their Operations ; though if the Word comes from *הרט* the *engraving Tool*, I should rather think that these *הרפאים* point out the ancient *Hieroglyphists* of *Egypt*, who used to represent Gods, and Men, and Things by *emblematical Figures*, and made

* L. 30. c. 1. † Gen. xli. 8. ‡ Miscel. Sac. l. 5. c. 11.
use

use of these kind of Draughts in their magical Operations to make them appear the more wonderful. And I think there is little doubt but that the monstrous Figures of the *Egyptian* Gods, and great Part of their stupid Idolatry and beast Worship, took its rise from these hieroglyphical Characters. I should rather make the Word a a composited one, and derive it from the two *Caldee* ones חוּר *videre, intueri*, and טַמִּיא *cadavera, ossa*, to denote those kind of Magicians that consulted the Bones and Bodies of the Dead, and who are said in Scripture, * דַּרְשׁ אֶל־דַּמְתִּים *to inquire and ask Counsel of the Dead*. However, whatsoever may be the Original of the Name, their Company and their Employment abundantly prove, they are rightly termed *Magicians*. They are joined with *wise Men, Astrologers, Soothsayers, Sorcerers*, and others of the like Cattle in many Places. They had their לִטְמִי, their *secret* hidden Tricks and *Practices*. † They were used to discover secret Things and to interpret Dreams. They were employed by *Pharaoh*, not only to interpret his Dreams, but to counter-act the Miracles of *Moses*, which they did by producing Serpents, turning Water into Blood, and bringing up Frogs ; and afterwards confessed them to be mere magical Tricks and *Deceptions*, when finding themselves unable to produce Lice, as *Moses* had done, they cried out : ‡ *This is the Finger of God* ; an evident

* Deut. xviii. 11.

† Gen. xli. 8. Dan. iv. 7.

‡ Exod. viii. 19.

Acknowledgement, that what they had before done, were mere Tricks of Delusion, Subtlety and Craft.

These kind of Persons were in *Egypt* before *Joseph's* Time, and in great repute too, otherwise *Pharaoh* had never sent for them on the Occasion of his Dream, and are joyned with the wise Men, as Persons themselves highly respected for their Wisdom. * The Author of the *Apocryphal Book of Enoch*, several Remains of which are preserved by *G. Syncellus*, and put together by the learned *Fabricius*, carries up the Invention of *magick Arts* to the antediluvian Times, and gives a fabulous Account of their Original. Several of the Fathers, such as *Justin*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and others were of the same Opinion. † *Sanchoniato* carries up Incantations and the Art of divining higher than the Flood, and ascribes them to *Chryſor* or *Vulcan*. The ‡ Author of the *Recognitions* of *St. Clement* says, that *Cham* taught the Magick Arts to *Mesraim* his Son, and that *Nimrod*, the *Græcian Ninus*, learned it from him.

Astrology or Divination by observing the Motions and Situations of the Stars seems to be one

* Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test. p. 183 185.

† Ων διατερον πν χρυσωρ λογος ασηκται η επωδους η μαντειας.
Apud Piæp. E. l. 1. c. 10.

‡ Ex quibus unus *Cham* nomine, cuidam ex filiis suis, qui *Mesraim* appellabatur, a quo *Ægyptiorum* et *Periarum* ducitur genus, male compertam magicæ artis tradidit disciplinam. L. 4. §. 27. 29. Cotel. apud Edit. Cleric.

of the most ancient kinds of Magick; for as they thought them Gods, it was but natural for one Superstition to lead into another, and to conclude that they governed the Affairs of the World, and that their Positions and various Aspects one towards another, and this Earth, might prognosticate this and the other Event. * *Diodorus Siculus* tells us from the *Egyptian* Priests, that *Belus* the Son of *Neptune* led a Colony of *Egyptians* into *Babylon*, amongst whom he appointed Priests like those in *Egypt*, called by the *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, who made Observations on the Stars, in Imitation of the *Egyptian* Priests, Naturalists and Astrologers; thereby making these astrological Magicians some hundred Years older than *Joseph*. And elsewhere he tells us, † that they have preserved Accounts of the Situation and Motions

* Εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεῖν ἀποικίαις Βηλὸν — τὰς τε ἱερεῖς κατέστηται — τὰς τε ὡραίωνησεως τῶν ἀστῶν τέλει πεινῶνται, μιμημένους τὰς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἱερεῖς καὶ φυσικὰς, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀστρολόγους. l. i. p. 24.

† Ἐπιμελὼς γὰρ — παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὡραίωνησεως τυγχανόντων οὖν τῶν ἀστῶν τάξεις τε καὶ κινήσεις. Καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀναγραφὰς εἰς ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ τῶν πλεονάζει, φυλάττειν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἐξήλωμένης παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης σπουδῆς. Τὰς τε τῶν πλανητῶν ἀστῶν κινήσεις καὶ περιόδους καὶ σιγὰς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων διαμείνας πρὸς τὰς τῶν ζώων γενέσεις, τινῶν ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ἀπερχομένων, οἰκισιμότητά τε παρρησιάζονται. Καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰετὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀπαντήσασθαι κατὰ βίον προλαβόντες ἐπιτυγχανόντων, ἐκ ὀλίγων δὲ χρόνων ὥσπερ ἡ τελευτῶν πλυνθῆναι, εἰ δὲ νόσους κοινὰς ἀνθρώποις ἢ βροτοῖς ἐσθλὰς προσήμειναι, σεισμούς τε καὶ κατακλυσμούς, καὶ κομήτων ἀστῶν ἐπιτοίαν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι δοκεῖν τὴν ἐπιγνώσιν, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ὡραίωνησεως γενημένης, προσημειώσονται. Id. ibid. p. 73.

of the Stars through an incredible Number of Years, and that from ancient Times they have been extremely diligent and exact in these Things, observing the Motions, Periods and Stations of the Planets, and the respective Powers of each in the Generation of Animals, and how they operate in the Production of Good or Evil ; that they oftentimes foretel the several Events of Mens Lives that shall happen to them, and signify before-hand the Corruption or ensuing Plenty of the Fruits of the Earth, and the Diseases that shall happen in common to Men and Cattle ; that they foreknow by the Observation of a long Series of Time, Earth-quakes, Inundations, the Rise of Comets, and many other Things, that seems to the Generality to surpass human Knowledge. The Reader will observe how exactly these Things agree with the Scripture Account of the ancient Magicians, Observers of Times, Wizards, Witches and the like, and that by the Account of the *Egyptians* themselves they are near as ancient as the Foundation of their Kingdom, long before *Joseph* was born. And there is nothing more evident from the Scripture History, than that all the several Kinds of Magick had spread themselves over *Egypt*, *Canaan* and the neighbouring Nations, long before the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*, and did not owe their great spread to *Joseph*, or the Conquests of *Sesostris* after the Times of *Solomon*.

I shall

I shall only add on this Article, that whereas he says: *All which*, viz. Chemistry, natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy, *they kept as deep Secrets to themselves, and made them pass with the Vulgar for Miracles, Revelation, Prophecy, and immediate divine Discovery*: 'Tis not altogether true. They were indeed pretty close and retentive of their Knowledge, and not over-fond of telling all they knew to others. And this reservedness they shewed not only to *the Vulgar* of their own Country, but even to the *learned Foreigners*, that came to them for Instruction. 'Tis well known that *Pythagoras* went through a Course of Probation in *Egypt* * of twenty two Years long, † that he endured there great Severities, went through all their Discipline; that upon receiving Letters from *Amasis* the *Egyptian* King, at the Instances of *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*, to the *Egyptian* Priests, to be admitted to their Doctrine, those of *Heliopolis* sent him to *Memphis*, those of *Memphis* to *Diospolis*, who through Fear of the King with great Difficulty at last admitted him to their Sacrifices and Studies; but not 'till they had made him undergo a very severe Pe-

* Δυσὸν δὲ καὶ εἰκοσιν εἴη κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν ἐν πῶς ἀνύτοις διέ-
τελεσεν. Iambli. de vit. Pythag. c. 4. Edit. Kuster.

† Τὴν καθέριαν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ διηγέσθαι — Τῶν δ' ἐ-
δυναμειῶν περὶ ἕχεται αἰτίας, διὰ τὸ δέος τοῦ βασιλεως, νομισαν-
των δὲ ἐν τῷ μεγεθεὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀποκρίσθαι αὐτὴν τῆς ἐπι-
βολῆς, προστάγματα σκληρὰ καὶ κεχωρισμένα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς
κελευσθαι ὑπακούειν αὐτὴν. Τὸν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσαντ' αὐτὸν
ἐκ τῶν δαυμάδων, ὡς ἐξέστιον λαβεῖν — περὶ τῶν τῶν
ἐπιμελειῶν. Porphy. de vit. Pythag. c. 7. 8. Edit. ead.

nance,

nance, and submit to such Hardships and Customs, contrary to all the Institutions of *Greece*, as they imagined would have deterred him from his Purpose. I mention this to observe, that the *Egyptian* Priests kept their Mysteries not only from the Vulgar of their own Kingdom, but were with great Difficulty prevailed on to communicate them to the most considerable Persons of other Nations; and the Reasons were evident, partly because they thought it unlawful to disclose their sacred Mysteries to common Observation; and partly because as Foreigners could have no Claim to their Instructions, so their own common People were too much engaged in the Affairs of Husbandry, Pasturage and Trade to attend to the Speculations and Doctrines of the Priests, and seem to have been *excluded by Law* from Commerce and Correspondence with them. The Colleges of the Priests were properly *Colleges of Learning*, in which the Wisdom of *Egypt* did not think it proper that the People of the lower Classes should have their Education; not so much to keep up in them a Notion of priestly Miracles, Revelation and Prophecy, as to preserve them from neglecting their respective Professions, to which the Law of that Country had confined them. So that it was the civil Constitution that confined knowledge within the Cloysters and Temples of the Priests, which absolutely forbid the Intermixture of one Class of Men with another, and translating Men from
the

the Plow, the Field, and the mechanical Arts to the Study of their Mysteries and Philosophy. And therefore * the Children in *Egypt* received such an Education as was suitable to the Profession and Condition of the Parents, and very few amongst them were taught the Use of Letters, the Children of the Priests and those of the Artists only excepted; and therefore it was not in the Priests Power, had they been ever so willing, by the Constitution of *Egypt*, to communicate their Knowledge and Arts to the common People.

Not that the *Egyptian* Priests were always thus *uncommunicative* to Foreigners. Many of the principal *Greeks*, most remarkable for Wisdom and Learning travelled into *Egypt*, to be instructed in their Customs, Laws, and Learning. *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Melampus*, *Dædalus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Eudoxus*, *Democritus* of *Abdera*, *Oenopides* and others, sojourned amongst them, learned many of their Laws, were informed of their religious Rites and Ceremonies, learnt Astrology and Astronomy, and brought away with them into *Greece* many useful Discoveries. And indeed most of the Religions and Mysteries practiced by the *Greeks* were originally from *Egypt*, and introduced either by native *Egyptians*, or by *Greeks* who

* Το δ' ἄλλο πλεῖθος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ παιδῶν μανθάνειν ὧς πατέρων ἢ συγγενῶν τὰς περὶ ἑκάστην βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καθάπερ προεիրηκαμεν. Γεγραμμένα δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον διδάσκουσιν, ἐκ πάντων, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς τέχνας μέγα χειρίζονται μάλιστα. Diod. Lib. i. p. 73.

had been in *Egypt* for Instruction; a large Account of which may be seen in * *Diodorus* and other Writers.

And as they sometimes communicated their Knowledge to Foreigners, so neither did they make it all pass for Revelation and Prophecy with their own common People at home. † *Herodotus* tells us, that with regard to Divination, it was an Art that they affirmed could be attributed to no Man, but belonged to certain of the Gods; a plain Intimation, that they allowed that their Skill in other Things was owing to other Causes than divine Revelation and Discovery. And accordingly ‡ he tells us, that those who dealt in Prodigies amongst them, observed and wrote down what Events happened after any of them; and that whenever there was a Prodigy of like nature, they presently judged that a like Event would succeed it. And *Diodorus* in the Passage before cited expressly assures us, that great Part of the Skill of the *Egyptian* Magicians was derived, not from the Gods, or any pretended Revelation from them; but from the Motions, Periods, and Stations of the Stars; and that from hence they were able

* *Diodor.* l. i. p. 86, 87, 88. *Herod.* l. 2. c. 49, 50, 51. *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* l. i. c. 16.

† Μαντική δε αἰοῖσι ὡς διακεῖται Ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὕδενι προσκεῖται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μέλεξέεσσι. *Herod. Euterp.* c. 83.

‡ Γενομένη γὰρ τεράθ φυλάσσει γεγραμμένοι τῷ ποταμῷ. ἢ ἢν κοίτῃ ὑπερὸν περὶ πλησίον τοῦ γένηται, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίζουσι ἀποβῆσθαι. *Id. ibid.* c. 82.

to calculate Nativities, and to foretell many Things that would happen to Fruits, and Cattle, and Men. Astrology was their avowed Profession, to their Skill in which they expressly attributed these and the like Discoveries.

Agreeable to this is the Answer made by the Magicians, Astrologers, Sorcerers and Chaldeans to *Nebuchadnezzar*, demanding of them to shew him his Dream which he had forgotten, and the Interpretation of it: * *The Chaldeans answered before the King and said, there is not a Man upon the Earth, that can shew the King's Matter; therefore there is no King, Lord, nor Ruler that asked such Things at any Magician, or Astrologer, or Chaldean. And it is a rare Thing that the King requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the King, except the Gods, whose Dwelling is not with Flesh*: Plainly hereby declaring, that they pretended to no Divine Revelation and Discovery, and that their Skill, whatever it was, in Dreams, was derived from quite different Causes. And indeed all ancient Writers, that speak of the *Egyptian* Priests, celebrate them for † their Wisdom, and Learning, and Piety to their Gods, and ascribe their Predictions of future Events, not to immediate divine Discoveries, but to Astrology, Inspection of Sacrifices, long Observation and Experience. And therefore it will be incumbent on this Philoso-

* Dan. ii. 10, 11.

† Δια μεν της αστρολογιας η της ιεροσκοπιας τα μελλοντα προσημανωσιν. Diodor. l. i. p. 60.

pher to justify his Character, and clear himself from the Reproach of Invention, Misrepresentation, and Ignorance, to produce some good and authentick Proofs, that the *Egyptian* Priests made their Skill in Chemistry, natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy, *all pass with the Vulgar for Miracles, Revelation, Prophecy, and immediate divine Discovery.*

S E C T. XIII:

Of the Antiquity of the Egyptian Superstitions.

A Farther Crime, with which the Philosopher charges *Joseph* is, that by enriching the Priests of *Egypt*, he was the Occasion of those Superstitions, which the *Egyptians* afterwards spread and propagated throughout their conquered Nations. His Words are: “ *He*
“ *had managed Matters so well, as to have divided*
“ *the whole Power and Property of Egypt be-*
“ *tween the Church and the Crown. And this*
“ *laid the Foundation of all the Superstition in*
“ *Egypt, and of the vast Power and Influence*
“ *of the Priests there in after Ages. For the*
“ *Priesthood being now hereditary, and the Priests*
“ *invested with a vast Property in Lands, inde-*
“ *pendent of the Crown; this gave them an Op-*
“ *portunity and Power to work up the People into*
“ *the highest and grossest Degrees of Superstition,*
“ *and into an absolute blind Obedience and Resig-*
“ *nation to themselves.*”

The Reader will observe that he here ascribes the Origin of the *Egyptian* Superstitions to these Causes; *Joseph's dividing the whole Power and Property of Egypt between the Church and the Crown, his making the Priesthood hereditary, and investing the Priests with a vast Property in Lands, independent on the Crown.* Now it hath been already proved, that the Priesthood was hereditary before *Joseph's* Time, that he invested the Priests with no Lands which they had not before, and that by settling the Lands between the Crown and People, he rendered it impossible that the Priests Property in Lands should ever be encreased: And therefore as *Joseph* did none of these Things which this Philosopher charges him with, he did not, could not lay the Foundation of all the Superstitions in *Egypt*, nor of that *blind Resignation to their Priests, which* he affirms *they had wrought the People into.* Nay, if Superstition encreases in proportion to the Lands and Riches of the Priests, *Joseph* took the most effectual Method in the World to prevent the progress of Superstition, by drying up the Sources of it, and so tying up the Lands of *Egypt*, as that during the Continuance of the Law which he procured, they could never be alienated from the Prince and People. And supposing it true, that the Priests *independent Property and incredible Riches* gave them an Opportunity to work up the People into the highest and grossest Degrees of Superstition, it will then follow, that if the Priests had *this Property* and these Riches several
Ages

Ages before *Joseph*, they had also this Power and Opportunity to work up the People into these gross Degrees of Superstition, just so many Ages before his Time. The former I have already proved, and therefore the latter follows from his own Way of arguing by necessary and undeniable Consequence. But not to insist on this, I would farther observe:

That his Supposition, that the Superstitions of *Egypt* took their Rise from this supposed Settlement of *Joseph*, appears to be without any Foundation, and argues his want of Observation, Reading, and all kind of Learning; for that it may be made appear, extremely probable at least, if not absolutely certain, that the Superstitions of *Egypt* were many of them much more ancient than the Times of *Joseph*. Let us attend to the Account both of sacred and profane History.

We find that the Corruptions of Mankind began early after the very Creation, and that in particular in the Days of *Enoch*, the Son of *Seth*, the Posterity of *Cain* began to assume to themselves divine Characters and Appellations. For thus I understand the Text: * *Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord*: Or as the Margin renders it: *To call themselves by the Name of the Lord*, i. e. to assume to themselves the Name of אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*, or *Gods*; אֱלֹהֵי *EL*, or *ELAH* being one of the Names of *Jehovah*, who was אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים *God of Gods*. And that

* Gen. iv. 26.

this is the true Meaning of this Passage appears to me from the sixth Chapter, which is evidently a Continuation of what was said in this last Clause of the Fourth; the fifth Chapter, containing the Genealogy, interrupting the Series of the History. *Then began Men to call themselves by the Name of Jehovah, viz. Elohim. * And it came to pass when Men began to multiply on the Earth, and Daughters were born to them, that the Sons of God בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, The Sons of these ELOHIM, of these Persons who first called themselves ELOHIM, took them Wives of all which they chose: Or rather, took by Violence from every Man the Wives which they chose. These Elohim were Men of great Strength, and a gigantick Stature. For thus it follows: † In those Days there were Giants in the Earth; if the Word גִּבּוֹרִים is to be rendred, Giants. I rather think it signifies Men of Rapine and Violence. נָפַל properly signifies to fall; and from hence in a figurative Sense to fall on any Person, or in an hostile Manner to invade him. Thus it is used Josh. xi. 7. So that the Sons of these Elohim were lawless Men, who invaded the Property of others, and ‡ filled the Earth with Violence. These were the mighty Men, THE HEROES of great Strength, from of old, Men of Renown, famous in these ancient Times for their Authority and Power.*

This Interpretation of the Words, I think to be the true one; and it is favoured by Jonathan's Paraphrase, who gives this turn to the Expres-

* Gen. vi. 1, 2.

† Gen. vi. 4.

‡ Gen. vi. 11.

sion, *Then began Men to call themselves by the Name of the Lord*, “ In those Days they began “ to err, and make themselves Idols, and named “ their Idols by the Name of the Word of the “ Lord ;” and * St. *Jerom* tells us, that most of the *Hebrews* give this turn to it, that then first, *Idols were framed in the Name and Likeness of the Lord*. Amongst the modern *Jewish* Interpreters, *Kimchi*, *Jarchi*, and others, give the same Sense of the Text ; and I do not see how we are to understand the common Version : *Then began Men to call on the Name of the Lord* ; for surely it can never be true, that at the Birth of *Enoch*, or 235 Years after the Creation, Men began first to call on the Name of the Lord ; for we may reasonably suppose, that *Adam*, *Abel*, and *Seth* were long before this the Worshipers of the true God. The true Meaning therefore I think is, *Then began Men to call themselves ELOHIM*, a Name of *Jehovah*, of which we shall soon find there was a Tradition preserved amongst the Heathen themselves ; and thus the *Sons of the ELOHIM* will be the immediate Descendants of these *Elohim*. And this will exactly suit the Time and Circumstances of the History, the Thread of which is resumed at the sixth Chapter. *And it came to pass when Men began to multiply on the Face of the Earth*, when the common Race of Mankind began to grow numerous, and *Daughters were born to them*, the *Sons of the Elohim* or *Gods* took by Violence

* Quæst. in Gen. p. 453. Edit. Plant.

the Daughters of Men for Wives, from every Man just as they chose or fancied them. Now Men must have begun to grow numerous about this Time, that the Sons of the Gods married ; for this will bring us down to the fourth Generation, or better than 400 Years after the Creation; and by this Means the World became corrupted by Violence and Leudness. And I think that the Account given of them by the Historian, that they were *the mighty Men from of old, Men of the Name*, as the Hebrew expresses it, famous and remarkable from ancient Ages, points them out as the *most ancient Gods* and Heroes ; a supposition that we shall see presently confirmed by the Testimony of profane History.

How soon Idolatry came into the World after the Flood, is not easy to determine. If it was practiced before it, *Noah* and his Posterity, that were with him in the Ark, could not be ignorant of it ; and it is probable that some of his Family might bring too much of the idolatrous Disposition out of the old World into the new. The *Jews* place the Beginning of Idolatry after the Flood in the Days of *Peleg*, and it is highly probable, that whilst Mankind continued one Family, under the Conduct of *Noah*, who was a *righteous Man*, there was no open Separation from the Worship of the one true God. But soon after the Dispersion, Superstition publicly appeared, and bewitched the generality of Mankind with her Sorceries.

'Tis a constant Tradition amongst the *Jews*, that when *Abraham* lived in *Chaldea*, he opposed the Idolatries of that Country, and was for that Reason forced to leave it, under the Direction of Providence. He determined, says **Josephus* to innovate, and alter the common received Opinion of God, and first dared publicly to declare, that God was the only Creator of the Universe, and on this Account the *Chaldeans* and other inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* moved a Sedition against him, on which he thought proper to remove from them, and possessed *Canaan* by the Will and Assistance of God. † *Philo* also tells us, that the most ancient Person of *Jewish* Nation was by birth a *Chaldean*, his Father an Astronomer, one of those who were conversant in the mathematical Science, who thought the Stars, and the whole Heaven and the World to be Gods. ‡ *Maimonides* speaks of it as an universally known Thing, that *Abraham* was educated in the *Zabian* Belief, which held that there was no God besides the Stars. He farther tells us from the

* Τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεοὺς δοξάν. ἣν ἀπασὶ συνεβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ νῦν αὖ καὶ μετὰ αὐτὸν ἐστίν. Πρῶτον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ θεοῦ ἀποφηνάσθαι δημοτικῶν τῶν ὄλων ἑνα — δι' ὅτι ἀπὸρ χαλδαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιῶν εἰσασιδόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν, μετρίκειν δοκίμασας, κατὰ βελήστιν καὶ βοηθήσαν τὰ θεοὺς τῶν χαναναίων ἐχέειν. *Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. § 1.*

† Καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνη προσέβουλον, γενέσθαι μὲν ἢν χαλδαίῳ, πατὴρ δὲ ἀστρονομικῶν, τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθημάτων διαβιβάντων, οἱ τὰς ἀστέρων θεοὺς νομίζοντες καὶ τὸν συμπάντα κρανὸν τε καὶ τὸν κόσμον. *Phil. de mund. p. 602. Vid. etiam de vit. Abrab. p. 11. 12.*

‡ Notum est, Abrahamum patrem nostrum educatum esse in fide Zabiorum, qui statuerunt, nullum esse Deum præter stellas. *Mor. Nev. p. 421.*

ancient Annals, and from the Books of the *Zabii*, a Translation of which into *Arabick* was extant in his own Time, that they expressly affirm, that the Stars were divine, that the Sun was the great God, that the five Planets were Deities, but the two Luminaries the greater ones, and that *Abraham* differed from them, and affirmed there was another Creator besides the Sun, and that therefore * the King imprisoned him, and at length banished him into the utmost Parts of the East, after having confiscated all his Effects. || He adds, that those ancient *Zabii* erected Images to the Stars, golden Images to the Sun, and silver ones to the Moon. The † *Mahometans* also have the same Tradition that *Abraham* was an Idolater, but that being converted he broke the Idols of the *Chaldeans* in Pieces, and was for this Reason cast into the Fire, where he miraculously escaped burning. This is also taken notice of by the learned Mr. *H. de*, ‡ that *Abraham* was educated in Idolatry, and thrown by *Nimrod* into a Furnace of Fire, for preaching against it, after his Conversion from it. And indeed the Thing is certain, that *A-*

* Rex ipsum incarcerationem; sed hoc nihil obstante ipse peremerit in carcere sese illis opponere. Quocirca regem, cum timeret ne regno suo detrimentum inferret, hominesque a religione sua abduceret, ipsum in fines usque orientis, confiscatis omnibus ejus bonis, relegasse. Id. ibid,

|| p. 423.

† Koran. c. 6. p. 106. Not. d, Sales Ed.

‡ De Relig. Pers. p. 59. 73. Vid. Fabric. Cod. V. Test. p. 344. &c. Vid. Hotting. de Ufu Ling. Orient. p. 262.

brahim.

brahim was brought up in Superstition, because his Ancestors were Idolaters; as appears from the Author of the Book of *Joshua*, who tells us, that *Joshua* a little before his Death said unto all the People: * *Your Fathers dwelt on the other side the Flood in old Time, even Terah the Father of Abraham, and the Father of Nahor, and they served other Gods*; and therefore he exhorts them: *Put away the Gods, which your Fathers served, on the other Side of the Flood and in Egypt.* And indeed no Reason can be assigned, for *Abraham's* being commanded of God to leave his native Country, so probable, as that it was upon Account of the prevailing Idolatries there, and to preserve him from the growing Infection of them.

'Tis also certain, that in the Time of *Abraham's* Grand-Son *Jacob*, the *Chaldeans* had their Images, since *Rachel*, † upon her leaving her Father *Laban*, took away with her *the Family Gods and Images*, which *Jacob* afterwards purged out of his Family, and buried under an Oak by *Shechem*. It plainly appears from these Accounts, that Idolatry was several Ages before the Time of *Joseph* in *Chaldea*, and had greatly prevailed amongst the Posterity of *Sem*. And considering the known Disposition of *Cham*, and of the *Egyptians* his Posterity, there is not the least Reason to imagine they were more free from this Impiety, than the Descendents of the other Sons of *Noah*. And that *Cham's* Posterity

* *Josh.* xxiv. 2, 14. † *Gen.* xxxi. 34, 35.

by *Canaan* were much infected with it, appears extremely probable, from the Declaration of God to *Abraham*, in that celebrated Promise : * *In the fourth Generation they shall come hither again, for the Iniquity of the Amorites is not full*; plainly intimating that their Iniquities were now many ; one principal one of which was, as we find by their after History, their many and foul Idolatries, the fruitful and constant Source of the greatest and most profligate Immoralities; according to the excellent Observation of the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* : † *The worshipping of Idols not to be named, or mean Idols, is the Beginning, the Cause, and the End of all Evil.*

But to come nearer to the *Egyptians*. When *Abraham* came into the Country of the *Philistines*, who were of *Egyptian* Original, he tells *Abimelech* their King, that the Reason of his concealing his Wife under the Character of his Sister was : || *Because I thought surely the Fear of God is not in this Place* ; or that they did not worship the true God. Nor is there any one Circumstance in their History to induce us to believe they did ; *Dagon*, the God whom they principally worshipped, being as ancient as *Cronus*, and his own Brother.

As to the *Egyptians*, the *Jewish* Writings, sacred and † profane, represent them as a very powerful and flourishing People, and as infected with Idolatry and Superstition before

* Gen. xv. 16. † *Wisd. of Sol.* xiv. 27. || Gen. xx. 11.
† *Vid. Hotting. de usu Ling. Orient.* p. 322. 323.

the Prime Ministry of *Joseph*. As early as *Abraham's* Time *Pharaoh* had his *Princes*; and when *Joseph* was first brought down into *Egypt*, we read of his *Guards* and *Captains*, his *chief Butler* and *Baker*, the Celebration of his Birth-day, and of the *wise Men and Magicians* of *Egypt*, the *Priests* and their landed *Estates*, numerous *Cities*, and in particular that of *On*, rendered by the seventy *Heliopolis*, or the *City of the Sun*, because of the *Worship* there paid him. † *Josephus* tells us, that *Abraham* on his going down to *Egypt* found the *Egyptians* used very different Customs from one another, that they despised each others established Rites, and were Enemies to one another on this Account; and that in his Conferences with them he shewed great Contempt of what they said about their particular Customs, and shewed them to be vain, and to have nothing of Truth in them; plainly referring to their different religious Opinions, the Diversity of their Gods, and sacred Ceremonies. * *Philo*, in his Life of *Joseph*, relates, that when *Jacob* saw the Waggon that were come from *Egypt*, to car-

† Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφορὰς ἀρεσκουσῶν ἐθεσι, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις ἐκτραυλίζοντων νομίμα, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ δυσμενὸς ἐχούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις, καὶ διαπίπλων τὰς λόφους ὡς ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀεὶ τῶν ἰδίων, κενὸς καὶ κενὸν ἐχούσας ἀληθεὶς ἀπεφάνει. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. §. 2.

* Ἡ δὲ χάρις καὶ φόβος εὐθύς ἐγεννήσθη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς τῆς τῶν πατριῶν διαίτησιν ἠδὲ γὰρ καὶ νεότητι εὐλαϊδὸν φύσει, καὶ ξενίᾳ τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτανεῖν ἐκχερίαν. καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χάριτος τυφλωτέστης ὡς τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεόν, ἐνέκα τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ θνήσκουσας. De Joseph. V. 2. p. 76.

ry him and his Family down into that Country, his Joy was abated thro' Fear lest they should depart from their ancient Principles and Customs; because he knew the Slippery Nature of Youth, and the Disposition of Strangers to Vice; especially as *Egypt* was blind with Respect to the true God, because they had formed created and mortal Things into Gods. This is agreeable to the Account of Sacred History, which assures us, that when *Joseph* entertained his Brethren in *Egypt*, 'twas at three separate Tables, one for himself, one for his Brethren, and one for the *Egyptians*; * *because the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews, for that is an Abomination to the Egyptians*. And after the Descent of his Father and Brethren, he orders them upon their Appearance before *Pharaoh*, if he should ask them *what Occupation* they were of, to answer him, that † *their Trade had been about Cattle*, because every Shepherd is an Abomination to the Egyptians. כל רעה צאן every Shepherd of Goat and Sheep; for צאן is never I think used of the larger Cattle, such as Horses, Neat, Asses, Camels, and the like. And as these Sort of Shepherds fed on the Sheep and Goats of their Flocks, hence they are said to be an Abomination to the Egyptians, in like Manner as Sacrifices of-

* Gen. xliii. 32.

† Gen. xlii. 34.

ferred of those Beasts are expressly called *the Abomination of the Egyptians* : † *We shall sacrifice*, says *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, *the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes*, and *will they not stone us?* i. e. as *Sir Isaac Newton* § observes, they should sacrifice Sheep or Oxen contrary to the Religion of *Egypt*. For as *Diodorus* assures us, the Sheep and the Goat were amongst the sacred Beasts of the *Egyptians*; and * *Herodotus* tells us, that the Sheep was sacred to some of the *Egyptians*, and the Goat to others; who therefore did not kill them, and that 'twas unlawful to sacrifice a Cow as being sacred to *Isis*, and that they worship them with peculiar Veneration; and that therefore no *Egyptian* Man or Woman will salute a *Greek* on the Mouth, or use a Knife, a Spit, or Pot, that hath been made use of by them.

And agreeable to this early Account of Idolatry, *Moses* speaks of it as an old inveterate Custom amongst the *Egyptians*, and not as a late Invention, that they practiced all kind of Superstitions. † *Ye know*, says he, *how we have dwelt in the Land of Egypt*, and

† Exod. viii. 26.

§ Chronol. p. 204.

* Τας δὲ θύλας ἔσσι εἴρεσι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἰσθὶ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰσθμοῦ—ὅτι τὰς βύας τὰς θύλας Αἰγυπτίῳι πάντες ὁμοίως σεβόνται, προσβάλλον πάντων μαλίστα μακρότων ἐνέκα καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγυπτίῳις ὅτε γυμνὰνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειε αὐτῷ σωματι. καὶ μαχαίρην ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀβελοῖσι, καὶ λεβήτι, καὶ χρεῶς καὶ θάραβος διαβήμενε Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γευσθαι. L. 2. c. 41. 42.

† Deut. xxix. 16, 17.

*came thro' the Nations we have passed by. And ye have seen their Abominations and their Idols, Wood, Stone, Silver and Gold. And therefore he cautions them : *Take good Heed unto yourselves, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a Graven Image, the Similitude of any Figure, the Likeness of Male or Female, the Likeness of any Beast that is on the Earth, the Likeness of any Fowl that flieth in the Air, the Likeness of any Thing that creepeth on the Ground, the Likeness of any Fish that is in the Waters beneath the Earth; and lest when thou lift up thine Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou seest the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, thou shouldst be driven to worship and serve them. The very Picture this of Egypt, which had their Gods, dead Persons deified, Male and Female; and numerous Images of them, and worshipped as Deities, Bulls, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Dogs, Cats, Birds, the Ibis and Hawk, Serpents, Crocodiles, River Horses, together with the Sun and Moon, and Stars of Heaven. And therefore Moses adds : But the Lord hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the Iron Furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a People of Inheritance, as ye are this Day : Plainly intimating their Redemption from these Egyptian Idolatries, to be a peculiar Kingdom to himself. And in Truth, that worship of all Sorts almost of Brute*

* Deut. iv. 15, 20.

Beasts, Birds, Fishes and Reptiles, which was so peculiar to *Egypt*, was so horridly absurd and stupid, as that it could never enter into the Heart of a Legislator to forbid it, unless he had been himself a Witness to these mean and monstrous Impieties. Hence with great Propriety the Preface to the Ten Commandments runs: * *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage.* Then is immediately subjoin'd: † *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any Likeness of any Thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Waters under the Earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them.* The Remark of ‡ *Philo* here is just: That God rightly lead the *Jews* into the Wilderness, from the midst of these pernicious Customs, that obtain'd in the Cities of *Egypt*. And after having given a particular Account of their abominable and ridiculous Idolatries, he adds: || That God took away these Kinds of Deification by the Holy Laws that he gave, and called Men to the Worship of himself, who alone is the true God.

* Exod. xx. 2.

† Exod. xx. 3, 4, 5.

‡ Εἰκὼς ἐν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν βλαβερωτάτων συνηθειῶν εἰς ἐρημὴν ἀπαγαγὼν, ἵνα κενώσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀδικημάτων. De Decal. p. 182.

|| Ἀνελὼν ἐν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας πάντας τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκθειῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν πρὸς ἀληθείαν οὕτος θεὸς τὴν ἐκθέσθαι. Id. Ibid. p. 194.

There is also an excellent Passage of * *Maimonides* to the same Purpose, who tells us from an ancient Book of the *Zabian* Superstition, intituled, *De Agricultura Ægyptiorum*, that their ancient Wise-men and Prophets commanded, that they should play on their Festivals with certain musical Instruments before their Images, because the Gods do good to those who act in this Manner, and largely reward them with long Life, by curing their Diseases, by giving them a good Encrease of the Earth, and Plenty of Fruits from their Trees. After which he makes this just Observation: When these Opinions began to obtain and spread amongst the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, it pleased God through his great Mercies towards us, to root out these Errors out of our Minds, and to take away these Labours from our Bodies, by abolishing these painful and unprofitable Actions. He gave us his Law by the Hand of *Moses*, who shewed us in the Name of God, that if we worshipped the Stars and other heavenly Bodies, the Rain should cease,

* Dicunt, sapientes et prophetas ipsorum antiquos præcepisse ut diebus festis certis instrumentis musicis coram imaginibus ludant, eo quod Dii illis, qui hæc faciunt, benefaciant, et amplas remunerationes largiantur — Cum igitur tantopere opiniones istæ divulgari et obtinere cœpissent, placuit Deo O. M. pro immensa sua erga nos miserecordia, errores istos ex animis nostris evellere, et tantos labores a corporibus nostris, per laboriosarum et inutilem istarum actionum abolitionem, auferre; deditque nobis legem suam per manum Moïsis P. M. qui nobis in Dei nomine indicavit, si alia corpora cælestia coluerimus, Pluviam cessaturam, &c. Fundamentum enim legis est, opinionem illam ex animis hominum tollere, memoriamque ejus extirpare. Mor. Nevoc. p. 428, 429.

the

the Earth should be barren, the Trees should not yield their Fruits, and besides other various Evils, that Life itself should be cut of; contrary to what these Worshippers of Idols preached to Men, to perswade others to worship them. For it is the Foundation of the Law, to extirpate this Opinion out of Men's Minds, and abolish the Memory of it.

And indeed the Nature of the *Jewish* Law is such, that it plainly appears to have been principally calculated in opposition to the reigning Idolatries the *Jews* had seen, and many of them practiced, during their continuance in *Egypt*. The very Sacrifices they offered of Bullocks, Sheep, and Goats, which were *Holy* amongst the *Egyptians*, and the Objects of their Adoration, were appointed unquestionably as a Means to preserve them from ever falling into those Superstitions, and in direct Opposition to them. And as the Law was in its whole Frame a very wise Provision and Guard against these *Zabian* Idolatries, as the appointing Rites in direct Opposition to them, was a more likely Method to prevent their relapsing into them, than a meer Prohibition of them would have been; it was an Instance of great Wisdom and Goodness in God to institute these Kind of Ceremonies, and establish them by Law. For they are in their Nature *worldly Ordinances* belonging wholly to an *external civil Polity*, are certainly capable of an Establishment by Law, and were necessary to that Period, and in the Circumstances of those Times,

to prevent more substantial and fatal Evils. And if my Reader will remember, that all these Kind of Injunctions in the *Mosaick* Law related to the external political Government of the *Jewish* Nation, he will easily see, that they are as consistent with the Wisdom and Goodness of God, considered as *their Legislator*, and the Former of their Republick, as any other Kind of good and necessary Laws, that are suited to the State and Times of any other particular Nation or Kingdom whatsoever, demonstrate the Care and Wisdom of the Prince or Government that ordains them.

Indeed the Antiquity of the *Egyptian* Superstitions may be abundantly proved from the Circumstances of the *Hebrews* themselves, who, as * *Eusebius* justly observes, as they encreased in Number, forgot the Principles of their Forefathers, and by conversing with the *Egyptians*, forgot the Piety and Virtue of their Ancestors, and grew into such a Resemblance and Likeness of Manners with the *Egyptians*, as that they seemed in reality in nothing to differ from them. And this Corruption by their Converse with the *Egyptians* is frequently intimated in the sacred

* Επειδή εις πολυανθρωπαν επεδίδε το των απογονων γενε —
τα μεν της ευσεβους αγωγης των προπαλαι θεοφιλων πατριων
κατα σμικρον αυλοις εξηδυνει η απημελυνει. Τα δε της παρ'
Αιγυπτιοις διατεινης τοσδιον της των δηλαμενων καποσχυε πλη-
θους, ως της μεν παλαιοι αρετης εις ληθην ελθειν, τη δε παρ'
Αιγυπτιοις ομοιοτροπα της βιης περιεγενεσθηναι, ως κατα μηδεν
Αιγυπτίων τον τροπον διαφερειν δοκειν. Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.
P. 312.

Writings.

Writings. Thus *Ezekiel*: * *They committed Whoredoms in Egypt, they committed Whoredoms in their Youth. Neither left she her Whoredoms brought from Egypt, for in their Youth — they pour'd their Whoredoms on her. She multiplied her Whoredoms in calling to remembrance the Days of her Youth, wherein she plaid the Harlot in the Land of Egypt. And soon after their Exodus from Egypt, God commands them by Moses: † They shall no more offer their Sacrifices unto Devils; the Word properly signifies to Goats, and hence denotes those deified dead Men, who were worshipped under the Symbol of Goats, and who were themselves represented with the Heads and Feet of Goats; they shall no more offer their Sacrifices unto these Devils, after which they have gone a Whoreing.* These are Expressions, that can denote nothing else, but their falling into the Idolatries and Impieties of *Egypt*, almost as soon as they were settled there, and which by Consequence demonstrate, that these Idolatries were established at this Time in that Country; and not Novelties, that took their Rise from *Joseph*.

'Tis highly probable, that amongst other Instances of the Tyranny of the *Egyptians*, they forced the *Israelites* to worship their Gods. This seems to be plainly intimated in that Passage of *Hosea*: ‡ *When Israel was a little Child, then I loved him, and called him my Son out of Egypt. They called them, viz. the Egyptians*

* *Ezek.* xxiii. 3, 8, 19. † *Levit.* xvii. 7. ‡ *Hos.* xi. 1, 2.

commanded them to appear before them. *Then they went out from them.* The *Israelites* after their Appearance before them went away. *They sacrificed to BAALIM, and burnt Incense to Graven-Images.* During *Joseph's* Power and Interest in *Egypt*, they were preserved from this Violence, but afterwards compelled to sacrifice to all the Images and Gods of *Egypt*. Nor will this Supposition seem at all improbable, when we consider that *Heathen* Writers attribute their very Expulsion out of *Egypt*, amongst other Causes to this, viz. their differing from the established Rites of *Egypt*. * *Diodorus*, in the *Extracts* preserved by *Photius*, and which are published at the End of *Wechel's* Edition of *Diodorus*, tells us: "That the *Jews* only will not unite and mix with any other Nation, and that their Ancestors were driven out of all *Egypt*, as impious Persons, and hated by the Gods." And in another † Place: Anciently in *Egypt*, there being some kind of pestilential Disorder in the Country, many of the *Egyptians*

* Μοῦνος γὰρ ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτες εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἐθνὸς ἐπιμειξίας, καὶ πολεμικὸς ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας. Ἀπεδείκνυντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς γένους αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσέβεις καὶ μισούμενοι ὧσα δέων ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς Αἰγυπτίου περὶ καταδεδυμένων. Ex lib. 34. apud Phot. p. 1149.

† Κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου το παλαιὸν λοιμικὴς πείραστος γενομένης, ἀνεπέμπετο οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν αἰτὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ τὴν δαίμονιον. Πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ πάντοτε ἀπὸν καὶ οἰκνύων ξένων καὶ διηλλαγμένων εἰς εὐχὰς χρωμένων πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰς δυσίας, καταλειδοὶ συνεβαίνει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς παλαιοὺς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς. Ὅπως οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐγγενεῖς ὑπελάβον, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἀλλοφυλὰς μελετήσανται, κείσιν ἐκ εὐχῶν τῶν κακῶν. Εὐθὺς ἐν ξενηλασμένων τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν — οὗ πολὺς λεὼς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τῆς — Ἰσραὴλ. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας οὐρανὸς αὐτοῦ Μωϋσῆς. Id. ex lib. 40. apud eund. p. 1152.

imputed to their Gods the Cause of the Evil. For as there were many Strangers inhabiting amongst them, using very different Customs in the sacred Rites and Ceremonies, the ancient traditionary Honours paid to the Gods hereby grew into Neglect. The Inhabitants of the Country therefore supposed, that there would be no End of the Misfortune, unless they drove out these Foreigners; and upon their Expulsion most of them went into *Judea* under *Moses*. The Reader will observe here a remarkable Testimony to the Truth of the sacred History; the Plague here spoken of, the Remembrance of which had been kept up even to the Times of *Diodorus*, relating unquestionably to the Destruction of the Cattle, and the First-born in all the Families of the Kingdom, which was in reality the immediate Cause of their Dismissal from *Egypt*, as both *Moses* and *Diodorus* represent it. * *Manetho* also reproaches them, for their being of a different Religion from the *Egyptians*, as neither adoring their Gods, nor abstaining from those Animals which the *Egyptians* counted sacred, but killing and eating them all indifferently. And I think it is not to be doubted, but that as many of the *Hebrews*, amidst the general Corruptions of their Brethren, kept the Religion of their pious Ancestors, they were in common on this Account used with great

* Ο δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νομον ἐδείξο, μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοῖς, μήτε τῶν μαλίστα ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ θημιζουμένων ἰερῶν ζῶων ἀπεχθῆναι μῆδεν. Apud. Joseph. Cont. ap. l. i. p. 460.

Severity ; the *Egyptians* being most tenacious of their sacred Rites, and maintaining, as * *Iamblicus* declares, immoveably the Traditions they had received from their Ancestors. The Body of the People however seem, partly by Force, partly by Imitation, and perhaps many of them through Badness of Disposition, to have thereby entered into all the Superstitions of the Country where they sojourned. Hence soon after their Deliverance from it, they erected the *Golden-Calf* in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, built an Altar to it, proclaimed a solemn Festival in honour of it, offered Sacrifices before it, sung and danced, eat and got drunk, and committed Acts of Leudness in the Madness of their Mirth ; † *for Aaron had made them naked to their Shame*. And these Extravagances and Impieties were exactly agreeable to those Superstitions that were made use of by the *Egyptians*, in the Worship of their *Apis*, as hath been shewn by learned Men, ‡ who have wrote on this Subject.

And as Magicians, Wisemen, Interpreters of Dreams, and the like Kind of Cattle, were in high Reputation amongst all the idolatrous Nations, and rose naturally out of Idolatry and Superstition, we find *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, immediately applying to them for the Interpretation of his Dreams, before ever he had heard

* *Αὐτῶν δὲ κατασκευὴν δεύει ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως.*
Iamb. de Myster. §. 7. c. 5. Edit. Gale.

† Exod. xxxii. 25.

‡ Selden De Diis Syr. l. i. c. 4.
of

of Joseph. * *He sent and called for all the Magicians of Egypt, and all the Wise-men thereof, but there was none that could interpret his Dreams.* But when Joseph had given the Solution of them, he cries out : † *Can we find such a one as this is, a Man in whom is the Spirit of THE GODS ?* His dealing with the Magicians was proof enough of his Idolatry ; for as Maimonides observes, ‡ *every Magician is an Idolater.*

Nay, Reader, that thou mayst have no farther Doubt, I will now, to crown all, produce a Testimony, that the Philosopher himself should not be able to gainsay ; no less a Man than this very Philosopher. He himself thus magisterially pronounces : || *The People during their long Stay in Egypt, for six or seven successive Generations, had been perfectly Egyptianized, they had been wrought into all the Manners, Customs and Usages, and especially into the false Religion and grossest Superstitions of that enslaved and ruined Nation. As they had seen nothing for two hundred Years together, but Miracles and Prodigies wrought by those priestly Magicians, they could conceive of no other Way of receiving Information and Instruction from God, and might have been more properly called Egyptians than Israelites, since they were Egyptians in every respect.* Not to take notice of the Blunder of six or seven successive Generations, for in the fourth Generation the Israelites came out of Egypt into Canaan, I would ob-

* Gen. xli. 8. † xli. 38. ‡ Mor. Nev. p. 445.

|| Mor. Phil. Vol. i. p. 246.

serve that he asserts, that during their long Stay in *Egypt*, they had been wrought into the false Religion and grossest Superstitions of the *Egyptians*. If then the length of their Stay in *Egypt* was the Occasion of their being thus perfectly *Egyptianized*, the false Religion and Superstitions of *Egypt* must have been established there antecedent to their coming down into it. The *Israelites* surely did not bring down these Superstitions with them, but found them there ready prepared to their Hands; for their long Stay in *Egypt* could be no Reason for their entering into the false Religion and Superstitions of it, had not that false Religion and those Superstitions been practiced by the *Egyptians*, during the *Israelites* long Stay amongst them. He * puts this Matter out of doubt by adding: *That they had seen nothing for two hundred Years together but Miracles and Prodigies wrought by their priestly Magicians; or as he expresses it elsewhere: For above two hundred Years after the Establishment of the Hierarchy there was a land of Miracles and Prodigies continually wrought by these holy Magicians, which had such an Effect upon the Israelites in the Course of two hundred and ten Years, whilst they remained in Egypt, that nothing could influence them but Miracles.* Now if the *Israelites* had seen these priestly magical Wonders wrought in *Egypt* for the Space of 210 Years, the Time of their Continuance there, they saw them wrought before what the Philo-

* Vol. i. p. 242.

sopher calls the Establishment of the Hierarchy. For they came down in the second Year of the Famine, and their Continuance in *Egypt* was but 210 Years in all; whereas according to the Philosopher, it was not till the sixth Year of the Famine that the Priesthood was made hereditary, and independent, and the Hierarchy established. So that we have four Years Space, in which the *Israelites* were accustomed to see nothing else but priestly Prodigies before *Joseph's* Establishment of the Hierarchy, and therefore that Establishment could not be the Reason of their seeing those wonderful Sights. And if *Joseph*, as I hope hath been abundantly shewn, never did make any such Establishment, but the Establishment was made long before his coming down into *Egypt*, then that priestly Magick, which the Philosopher speaks of, was practiced long before the Descent of *Joseph* and his Brethren thither, if those priestly Wonders took their Rise from such Establishment. Had *Joseph* indeed been the Author of it, it might probably have gradually helped Superstition forwards; but 'tis an impossible Supposition, that a Nation should be at once and in an Instant brought into Subjection to a false Religion, priestly Delusions, and unnatural Superstitions; and therefore the Philosopher's Concession, which for once may be allowed to be somewhat agreeable to Truth and Fact, that the *Israelites* had heard of nothing else but Prodigies and Wonders, during the 210 Years of their Abode in Egypt,

Egypt, evidently demonstrates that a false Religion and gross Superstition had been an old and inveterate Evil amongst them, long before the *Israelites* Descent into that Country.

I hope the Reader will be abundantly convinced by these Observations, how unjust the Charge against *Joseph* is, that the Rise of the *Egyptian* Superstitions was owing to any Settlement made by him, when there is the strongest Evidence to prove, that many of the most absurd and stupid of them, all the remarkable ones they were known to practice in after Ages, were certainly practiced before his Time. It is with as little Reason and Truth, what is farther added : That *thus Egypt became the Mother and Nurse of Superstition, which, after the great Egyptian Empire arose about Solomon's Time, they spread and propagated to all their conquered Nations* ; as though the Spread of Idolatry was so late as after *Solomon's* Reign, when there are the strongest Evidences to prove that Spread was much more ancient. I shall therefore pursue this Subject a little farther, to shew how utterly groundless this Supposition is.

From *Joseph's* Time to *Solomon's*, under whom the Philosopher places the great Spread of Idolatry by the *Egyptians*, were about 700 Years, during which it seems Superstition had been almost confined to *Egypt*, and made but little Progress in the World, the *Egyptians* not having had any Opportunity of spreading it by their Conquests. Amongst other Countries, said to be conquered by

by *Sesoftris*, *Palestine* is named as one. He conquered all *Asia*, says * *Diodorus*; and † *Herodotus* assures us, that he himself saw in *Palestine* some of the Pillars erected by *Sesoftris*, with the Inscriptions and Figures on them declaring his Conquests. Now what the ancient State of this Country was we know by the most authentick Evidence. Not long after the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, God tells them: ‡ *Mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites. Thou shalt not bow down to their Gods, nor serve them, but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their Altars. || Ye shall destroy their Altars and cut down their Groves. § Ye shall destroy all their Pictures, and all their Molten-Images, and quite pluck down all their high Places. Whosoever he be of the Children of Israel, or of the Strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his Seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death. And the Soul that turneth after such as have familiar Spirits, and after Wizards I will cut him off from amongst his People. Ye shall not walk in the Manners of the Nations which I cast out before you, for they committed all these Things, and there-*

* Καί εστρεψάτο πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν. Lib. i. p. 50.

† Ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σουὶν αὐτῷ ὄρεον ἐκείνης [σηλας] καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα τὰ ἐρημῶνα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. Euterp. c. 106.

‡ Exod. xxiii. 23, 24.

|| Exod. xxxiv. 13.

§ Num. xxxiii. 52.

Levit. xx. 2. 6. 23.

therefore I abhorred them. And *Moses* tells them :
 * *Ye know how we came through the Nations, and ye have seen their Abominations, and their Idols, Wood and Stone, Silver and Gold, which were amongst them.* And therefore he commands them : *Ye shall utterly destroy all the Places, wherein the Nations which ye shall possess served their Gods, upon the high Mountains and the Hills, and under every green Tree, and you shall overthrow their Altars, and break their Pillars, and burn their Groves, hew down the Images of their Gods, and destroy the Names of them out of their Place.* See here, Reader, the State of *Palestine* above six hundred Years before the *Egyptians* conquered it, under *Sesostris* or *Sesac*, and spread their Superstitions in it. They had numerous Gods, they had made Pictures of them, they had their Images of Wood, Stone, Silver and Gold, they sacrificed their Children to them, they worshipped them on Hills, Mountains and high Places, and consecrated Trees to them, planted Groves that were sacred to them, they built Altars, and erected Pillars in honour of them ; and in a Word, were fallen into the most absurd, impious, and unnatural Superstitions and Idolatries. Besides these Gods and Images, and all the Follies, Leudnesses and Barbarities practiced in their Worship, they had other execrable Practices amongst them, Inchantments, Divinations and Sorceries of all Sorts. *Moses* expressly charges them : † *There shall not be found*

* Deut. xii. 2. 3. † Deut. xviii. 10, 11. 12.

amongst you, any one that maketh his Son, or his Daughter to pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer : For all that do these Things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee. All these monstrous Superstitions and Iniquities are the natural Effects of Idol Worship, and invariably attendant on Idolatry, and evidently demonstrate that *Canaan's* whole Family in *Palestine* was thus early fallen into the vilest Corruptions. Their Iniquities were great in *Abraham's* Time, but during the 400 Years Trial that God granted them, from the Promise to *Abraham* to his Posterities taking possession of *Canaan*, their Iniquities gradually rose to their full Measure, and they were ripened for that exemplary Vengeance, that was justly brought on them by the *Israelites*, under the Conduct of *Moses*.

We have also the Names of the particular Gods that were worshipped by the Nations long before the Times of *Solomon*, and the Offices that were assigned them. *Chemosh* was the common God of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. The *Syrians* and *Phenicians* worshipped *Baalim*, several Gods ; Gods male and female, * *Baalim*

* Κερω δε εγεννησθ απο Ασαφιν θυγατρες επτα — Την δε Ασαφιν Φοινικας την Αφροδιτην ειναι λεγουσι. Sanchon. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 37. 38.

and *Asttaroth*, or *Astarte*, who was a deified Woman, and the *Sidonian Venus*. *Dagon* was the God of the *Philistines*, the President of Corn. *Molech*, to whom the Children were burnt in Sacrifice, was the God of the *Ammonites*. They were the *Guardians of Hills*, where they had Temples. * *Baal-Peor* was the Lord of *Peor* where he was worshipped. They had their *Διὶ πόλιςχοι*, *Guardians of Cities*. *Baal-Meon*, the *Habitation* or *City consecrated to Baal*. They had their *particular Offices* assigned them. *Baal-Berith*, *Jupiter Feretrius a fœdere ferendo*, was the God that presided over Leagues. They were named from *particular Circumstances*. *Baal-Zebub*, *Jupiter ἀπομυιος*, *Muscifuga*, the fly Driver. Other Things of like Nature might be mentioned. So that *Canaan* and all the neighbouring Nations, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Syrians* and others, had run into all Sorts of Superstitions and Idolatries long before the Settlement of the *Israelites* in the promised Land; and there is no Circumstance to prove, that these Nations owed their Superstitions to the Influence of *Egyptian Power*; and demonstrative Evidence to prove, that they were universally fallen into them many Centuries before the Times of *Sesac*, who was Cotemporary with *Solomon* and *Rehoboam*.

Besides allowing, what is not true, that the great *Egyptian Empire* arose about *Solomon's* Time, yet it is not probable that the *Egyptians* spread and propagated their Superstitions to all

* Num. xxiii. 28,

† Num. xxxii. 38.

or any of their conquered Nations. The Settlement of Religion and Superstition is the Work of Peace, and not of War; and accordingly *Sesostris* did not apply himself to religious Affairs, even in *Egypt*, till his nine Years Expedition and Wars were ended. Nor is there any Thing in *Herodotus* or *Diodorus* that gives the least Intimation, that *Sesostris* went on this religious Knight Errantry, or made any Attempts to proseliterate the conquered Nations to the Gods and Ceremonies of *Egypt*. *Palestine* that bordered on his Kingdom must have been the first Nation on whom this Attempt would probably have been made. But the sacred Historian mentions not one Syllable of it, but on the contrary assures us, that *Sesac's* Invasion had a quite contrary Effect, and produced a Reformation from Idolatry in the Kingdom of *Juda*. For though before the Invasion the *Jews* * *built them high Places, and Images and Groves on every high Hill, and under every Green-Tree*; yet after the Invasion, *Rehoboam* † *humiled himself, and the Wrath of the Lord turned from him, and also in Judah things went well*.

Ancient Writers give a very different Account, and a much more probable one of the Spread of the *Egyptian* Superstitions. The *Egyptians* claim the Honour of having spread *their Colonies* through different Parts of the World. *Osiris* his Expedition seems to be in reality nothing more than an Account of the ancient Set-

* Kings xiv. 23.

† II Chron xii 12.

lements of his Family in the several Parts of the World. *Cham's* Posterity spread themselves extremely wide. *Egypt*, all *Africa*, great Part of *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Babylonia*, *Sufiana*, *Assyria* and other Provinces fell to them, or were seized by them. From *Mizraim* certainly proceeded the *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, many of the *Libyans*, the ancient *Colchi* in *Pontus*, the *Philistines* and others. They say * *Belus* led a Colony to *Babylon*, *Cush* and *Mizraim* being both Descendants of *Ham*. *Danaus* was an *Egyptian* born, came into *Greece*, and built *Argos* one of its most ancient Cities. The *Athenians* themselves were probably a Colony from the *Egyptian Sais*, where, as *Plato* assures us, *Minerva* was worshiped, the armed Image of whom was exactly the same amongst both People. *Cecrops*, *Petes*, *Erectheus*, *Erickonius*, *Erisiction*, *Athenian* Princes and Captains, were originally *Egyptians*, and brought with them their religious Rites, and established them, like the rest of the *Egyptian* Captains and Colonies, in the respective Places where they settled. Particularly *Erectheus* when made King

* Εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεῖν ἀποίκους Βηλὸν — λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸς περὶ Δαναὸν ὀρμηθέντας ὁμοίως ἐκεῖθεν, συνοικήσαι τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην σχεδὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι π' ἁλῶν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ τε τῶν Κολχῶν ἐδνθ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, καὶ τὸς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φασὶν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαΐτων τῶν ἐξ Αἰγυπτῆς — Τῶν Πετῆν — Φανερώς Αἰγυπτίου ὑπαρξάντα τυχὲν ὑπερῶν Ἀθηναίων πολέμιας τε καὶ βασιλείας — Ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ τῶν Ἐρεχθίδων λεγούσι τὸ γνθ' Αἰγυπτίου οἷα βασιλεύσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων — κατεδείξαι τὰς τελετάς τῆς Δημῆρος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, καὶ τὰ μυθικὰ ποιεῖν, μελενεύοντα τὸ πρὸς τῶν νομίμων ἐξ Αἰγυπτῆς. Diodor. l. i. p. 24. 25. Vid. et Platon. Crit. p. 110.

of *Athens*, is expressly said to have taught the Mysteries of the *Elusinian Ceres*, borrowing them from the established Customs of *Egypt*; upon which Account there could not but be a great Conformity between the Antiquities and Mysteries of *Greece* and *Egypt*.

Besides this, 'tis well known, that many of the ancient Philosophers and Lawgivers either went down into *Egypt*, or conversed with *Egyptian* Priests, moved to it by the great Fame of their Learning, Wisdom and Mysteries, importing the sacred Ware of that Country into their own; and hereby spread and established the Superstitions drawn from thence: such as * *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Melampus*, *Dædalus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*, *Solon* the *Athenian*, *Plato* the Philosopher, *Pythagoras* of *Samos*, *Eudoxus* the Mathematician, *Democritus* of *Abdera*, *Oenopides* of *Chius* and others. † *Orpheus* brought from thence most of the Mysteries and holy Rites, and his whole Mythology of *Hades*; whence the Mysteries of *Osiris* and *Bacchus*, and those of *Isis* and *Ceres* were the same, without any other Difference but the Names of the Persons to whom they related. From hence *Melampus* brought the History of *Saturn* and the

* Diodor. l. 1. p. 86. 87. 88. Plutarch, de Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

† Ορσεα μεν γαρ των μυστικων τελεων τα πλειστα — η την των εν αιδε μυθολογιαν απενερχεσθαι την μεν γαρ Οσειδος τελεην τη Διονυσω την αυτην εναι, την τε της Ισιδος τη της Δημητρεσς ομοιοτητην υπαρχειν, των ονοματων μονον ελληλαγμενων. Diodor. p. 85.

Wars of the *Titans*. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* had many of their Laws from the same Original. * *Pythagoras* learnt there their holy Language, Geometry, Arithmetick, his Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, and the sacred Ceremonies relating to the Gods. To this Cause was owing a great deal of the Spread of the *Egyptian* Ceremonies and Superstitions.

I may add also, that *Chaldea* and *Phenicia* had both their Share in propagating the Idolatries and Impieties amongst the Nations; especially the *Phenicians* by their Navigations and Colonies into *India*, *Africa*, and almost all Parts of *Europe*; amongst whom were those who fled from *Joshua*; where they built many Cities, and established their own Gods and Forms of Worship, different from these used by the *Egyptians*, as may be seen abundantly proved by the most learned † *Bochart*. But I believe my Reader will by this Time see himself abundantly convinced, that the Philosopher's whole Scheme about the Rise and Propagation of Superstition is absolutely *Chimerical*; and will not need I hope more Arguments to convince him, that *Joseph* was neither *the real* nor *the accidental* Cause of the Prevalence and Spread of it. He will however plainly discern, what an inestimable Blessing the Law of *Moses* was to the

* Πυθαγόρῃ τε τα κατὰ πνῖστον λόγον, καὶ τα κατὰ γεωμετρικὰν διαγρημάδα, καὶ τα ὅτε τις αἰεθμὸς, εἰ δὲ τὴν εἰς πᾶν ζῶον τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολὴν μαθεῖν παρ' Ἀγυπθίων. Id. p. 88. Vid. Diog. Laert. l. 8. §. 2. 3. Iamblic. de Vit. Pythag. c. 4. Porphyrii, de Vit. Pyth. §. 12.

† De Colon. et Sermone Phoenicum.

Jews, which rescued them from all the Impieties and Superstitions of *Egypt*, *Canaan*, and the Nations around them ; and if I am not mistaken will, upon a serious Consideration, conclude *Moses* to have been the greatest and wisest Lawgiver of all Antiquity, ONE only excepted ; who in the midst of the Ignorance and Darkeness which prevailed amongst all Nations in his Time, made it a fundamental Principle in his Republick, that the one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, was *their God, their King, their Lawgiver and their Judge* ; and ordained a large Ritual of publick Worship in honour of him, which though suitable to the Genius of the People he brought out of *Egypt*, and the Circumstances of the Times in which he lived, and having in many Instances a great resemblance to the publick Forms and Ceremonies of other Nations, yet was absolutely free from all the Impieties, Cruelties, Leudnesses, mean and sordid Superstitions, and vile Abominations, which were mixed with the Rites which then universally obtained, and were practiced as Instances of Religion and Devotion to those false Gods, they had set up in Opposition to the True.

And here I might fairly rest this Matter : But I think it will not be amiss to consider what Light prophane History throws on this Subject, as it will on one Hand be a great Confirmation of the *Mosaick* Account ; and on the other will shew , that the Scheme of some great Men, to bring down the Antiquities, Gods and Super-

stitutions of *Egypt* so low as the Time of *Sesac* and *Solomon*, is without any Reason or Probability of Truth.

The sacred Writings, as I have observed, place the Corruptions of Mankind long before the Flood, and seem to represent many Persons in that Period of Time, as risen to that Height of Impiety, as to usurp to themselves the Name of *Gods*. And this Account is confirmed by the *Phenician History* of *Sanchoniatho*; who carrying his Account up to the Original of all Things, or the Beginning of the World, tells us; that some of the first Mortals called themselves * *Μημερμος* and *Υψερανιος*, or as † *Bochart* reads it *Σαμημερμος*, i. e. Persons of heavenly Height and Dignity; that another of them was called *Αγροτης*, a Word which *Philo* hath wrong translated from the *Hebrew* יְשַׁדְדַּי *Saddai*, which signifies, *The Omnipotent* or *Almighty*; others of them, *Cabiri*, the powerful *Gods*, another of them *Eliun*, the high One, one of the Names of God in Scripture, another of them *Ilus*, i. e. *Ἐλ* *El*, the mighty God; and the Associates and Assistants of this *El*, were called *Ελωειμ*, *Elohim* or *Gods*.

As these Antediluvians thus impiously assumed to themselves the Names of God, so the same

* *Εκ τῶν, φησιν, ἐγαντηθσαν Μημερμος ἢ ο Υψερανιθ.* Sanchon. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 34. Ὡς τῶν ἐγανοντο ἐτέρῳ, ὡς ο μὲν — *Αγροτης ἢ Αγροτης* — *θεῶν ο μερμος.* Id. ibid. p. 35. *Εκ δὲ τῶ Σαδνκ, Διοσκουρι, ἢ Καβειρι* — κατὰ τῆς γένεσις πρὸς *Ελιον* καλεσμενος *Υψιος* — οὗ δὲ συμμαχοὶ *Ιλν, τῶ Κερνῶ Ελωειμ* ἐπεκληθσαν. Id. ibid. p. 36. 37.

† De Sanchon.

Author represents them as degenerated into great Idolatries; and tells us that the Deification of dead Men, for beneficial Inventions, then began; that * *Vulcan* or *Tubal-Cain* was worshipped as a God, as the Inventor of Iron, and for his Eloquence and Skill in Incantations and Divinations; that † *Agrotus* or *Saddai* had an Image erected to him that was extremely venerable, and that in the sacred Books he was stiled *the greatest of the Gods*. Others of them, ‡ he relates, lift up their Hands towards the Heavens to the Sun, as thinking this God the only Lord of Heaven, whom therefore they called *Beelsamen*, the same who is called *Jupiter* by the *Greeks*. || Others of them erected Pillars to the Fire and Wind, and worshipped them, and made Libations to them of the Blood of the Beasts which they took in Hunting. § Others of them, he says, consecrated the Plants of the Ground, and esteemed

* Εξ ὧν γινέσθαι δύο ἀδελφὸς σιδηρὸς εὐρετᾶς, καὶ τῆς τέττε ἐργασίας· ὧν πατέρην τὸν Χρυσῶς λογὸς ἀσκήσῃ καὶ ἐπωδᾶς καὶ μαντικᾶς. Εἶναι δὲ τέττον τὸν Ἡφαίστον — Διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπέβαδῃσαν. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 34.

† Ὁ δὲ Ἀγροκτὸς ἢ Ἀγροτῆς, καὶ καὶ Ἰσάων ἐναι μάλα σεβασμιον — Ὡς δὲ βιβλίοις ἐξαιρετῶς θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὀνομαζέται. Apud eund. p. 35.

‡ Τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεῖν εἰς ἑρᾶν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. Τέττον γὰρ φησὶ θεὸν ἐνομιζόν μονὸν ἑρᾶν κυρίον, βέλσταμην καλόντες, ὅς ἐστι Ὡς Φοινίξ κυρίῳ ἑρᾶν, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσι. Apud eund. p. 34.

|| Ἀνιερῶται δὲ δύο σήλας πυρὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ πρὸς σκυνῆται, ἀλλὰ τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἠγρεύε θηρίων. Apud eund. 35.

§ Οὗτοι γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀφιερῶσαν τὰ τῆς γῆς βλάστηματα καὶ θεὸς ἐνομιῶσαν, καὶ πρὸς σκυνῆν ταῦτα ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τε διεγενόντο καὶ οἱ ἐπομειοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες, καὶ χορᾶς καὶ ἐπιδύσεις ἐποίκον. Apud eund. p. 34.

them Gods, and worshiped those Things by which they themselves, their Ancestors and Posterity were maintained, and made Libations and Offerings in honour of them. Thus early was the Rise of Idolatry, and thus sordid and various the Species of it, according to the *Phenician* Accounts. Many other Things of like Nature are mentioned by this Author, which are related at large by *Eusebius* in his Extract from him. And this Account of the antediluvian Idolatry is the more probable, because the Period of 1556 Years was much longer than that in which Idolatry confessedly began after the Flood; and because of the universal Corruption that had spread in those Days in the World; it being almost impossible that so general a Wickedness could have prevailed amongst Mankind, had they retained the Knowledge and Worship of the only living and true God, or that Idolatry should so soon commence in the new World, if it had been wholly unknown to the old. Nor is it at all improbable, that they who assumed to themselves the Name of *Elohim* or Gods, should be acknowledged and worshipped as such, by their equally degenerate and wicked Posterity.

'Tis what many * learned Men seem to be agreed in, that the *Egyptian* Theology reached

* Crediderim illos Reges, Deos et Semideos, quos ipsi jactant, ortos esse ex traditione qualicunque de hominibus, qui ante diluvium vixerunt per temous singuli longissimum, et de hominibus qui proxime post diluvium vixerunt, ac prioribus quidem minus, at posterioribus a tempore Moïsis vel jam Jacobi, magis longævi fuere. Perizon. *Ægypt. Orig.* p. 22.

to the antediluvian Times, and that some of their Gods were the ancient Heroes of the old World. * *Diodorus Siculus* from the ancient Records of *Egypt* tells us, that the first Men existed in *Egypt*, and that being surpris'd with Wonder at beholding the frame of the Universe, they imagin'd that the two eternal and principal Gods were the Sun and the Moon, and call'd him *Osiris*, and her *Isis*. That besides these, certain Persons on Earth, who were naturally mortal, for their Wisdom and the Benefits they confer'd on Men, had obtained Immortality; some of whom had reigned over them in *Egypt*. That some of them had the same Names with the heavenly Gods. That *Sol* was the first King amongst them, who had his Name from that Star in Heaven; though some of the Priests affirm, that *Vulcan* was their first King, who was the Inventor of Fire, and that he obtained the Kingdom for this useful Discovery; and that he was succeeded by *Saturn*; exactly agreeable to the Sacred History,

* Φασι τοιουν Αιγυπτιοι, καὶ α τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὁλῶν γένεσιν πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος γενέσθαι καὶ α τὴν Αἰγυπτιον — τὸς δὲ κατ' Αἰγυπτιον ἀνθρώπος τὸ παλαιον γενομενος, ἀναβλεψάμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁλῶν φύσιν καταπλασείας, καὶ θαυμάσαντας, υπολαβὼν εἶναι δύο θεοὺς αἰδούς τε καὶ πρῶτους, τὸν τε ἡλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὀσείν τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν ὀνομάσαι — Ἄλλες δ' ἐκ τεττῶν ἐπίσης γενέσθαι φασιν. ὑπαρξάντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ συνέσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐερέσειαν τέλῃ χηκόας τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὧν ἐνὶς καὶ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος καὶ α τὴν Αἰγυπτιον — τινὰς μὲν ὀμωνυμοὺς ὑπαρχέν τοις θεάνοις — καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἥλιον βασιλευσαν, τῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτιον, ὀμωνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ' ἑσθον ἀσθῷ. Ἐνὶς δὲ τῶν ἱερέων φασι πρῶτον Ἡφαιστον βασιλευσαι — μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κρόνον ἀρξάι. *Lid.* 1. p. 9. 10. 12. 13.

which

which places *Tubal-Cain*, or the *Egyptian Vulcan*, as the last of *Cain's* Race before the Flood, and tells us, that he was the * *Instructor of every Artificer in Brass and Iron*; and therefore he immediately preceded *Saturn*, or the Scripture *Noah* who survived the Flood. And to him we may add, as of antediluvian Original, *Minerva*, or the Goddess of Wisdom, and War, or the Scripture *Naamah*; there said to be the Sister of *Tubal-Cain*; and expressly † declared to be the Sister of *Vulcan* by profane History, ‡ and the most ancient of all the Gods, a few only excepted. Her Name signifies, *the excellent or lovely One*, and was || a proper Character of *the Goddess of Wisdom*. Nor do I in the least doubt, but that the true and most ancient *Apollo* was the antediluvian *Jabal*, who was § *the Father of such as dwell in Tents and have Cattle*; or *Jobal*, who was ** *the Father of all such as handled the Harp or Organ*; or rather that the Names of these two Brothers being much alike, *Apollo's* Character and Attributes were form'd from both;

* Gen. iv. 22.

† Ηφαιστος δε κοινην κ' Αθυνα φουσιν εχοντες, αμα μιν αδελφον εκ ταυτε πατερος, αμα δε φιλοσοφια φιλοτεχνια leg. φιλοτεχνια τε επι τα αυτα ελθοσιν, ετω μιαν αμφι ληξιν ειληχατον. Plat. Crit. p. 119.

‡ Δοκει δε μοι κ' πρεσβυτατη θεων συναι, η κομνη πνων ευα-ειδημων, κ' των πρωτων οντων εν τω ποτε. Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. p. 10. Edit. Jebb.

|| Παντα μιν εν τα χαλλισα ωσει Αθηναν τε κ' εξ Αθνας. Id. ibid. p. 9.

— Αει χαλον ομμα το τινας. Callim. Hymn. in Lavacr. Pal. v. 17.

§ Gen. iv. 20.

** Gen. iv. 21.

it being well known that he is stiled * *Citharædus* and *Nomius* the *Harpist* and *Shepherd*, and that he was the God both of Musicians and Shepherds. That the *Egyptian* Gods were Antediluvians is also evident, from what † *Diodorus* farther relates concerning them from the *Egyptian* Priests, that the most ancient of their Gods reigned twelve hundred Years, and those who succeeded them, three hundred at least; Accounts which agree with the Longevity of the Antediluvians, and those who lived immediately after the Flood. This will also account for the Passage in ‡ *Herodotus*, who tells us, that the twelve Gods descended from the eight Gods, the eight Persons mentioned in the Sacred History as the principal Descendents of *Adam* by *Cain*, viz. *Cain*, *Enoch*, *Irak*, *Mehujael*, *Methujael*, *Lamech*, *Jubal* and *Tubal-Cain*. This might be confirmed by many other Observations; but I shall only remark farther, that it seems to me, that the antediluvian *Elohim*, and the Sons of these Gods were not, as hath been generally supposed, the Posterity of *Seth*, but the Race of *Cain*; who treated the Posterity of *Seth* as mere *Sons of Men*, vile and con-

* Vid. Illustris. Spanhem. Not. in Callim. Hymn. in Apol. v. 47.

† Μυθολογία δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὲς μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτης βασιλεύσαι πλεῖον τῶν χιλιῶν καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν, τὲς δὲ μεταγενεστέρης ἐκ ἐλατῆρι τῶν τετρακοσίων. L. 1. p. 22.

‡ Τὸν Πανα τῶν οκτῶ θεῶν λογιζοῦνται εἶναι Μενδησιότι. Τὲς δὲ οκτῶ θεοὶ τέττες πρότερες τῶν δωδεκά θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. Euterp. c. 46.

temptible

temptible Persons, and violently seized on their Daughters for Wives and Concubines ; and that the *Egyptian* antediluvian Gods were also the principal Heads and Descendants of *Cain's* Family, as appears from their *Vulcan* and *Apollo*, the *Tubal-Cain* and *Jabal* of the Scriptures.

'Tis evident from this Account, that Superstition and the Rise of Idolatry amongst the *Egyptians* were according to them very ancient, inasmuch as these antediluvian Heroes, the mighty Men of old, the Men of the Name appear to be some of their principal Gods ; and it is reasonable to believe that *Ham* propagated their Worship amongst his Posterity, and took himself and his Associates the Name of *Elohim*, with a View to be acknowledged as Gods themselves after their Decease. * *Sanctioniathon* gives an exceeding bad Account of *Ham* under the Name of *Cronus*, and tells us that he murdered his Father, and consecrated him upon the Spot where he killed him ; that † he afterwards offered up to his Father his only Son by the Nymph *Anobret*, to put a Stop to a raging Pestilence ; that he consecrated his Son *Muth* into a God after his Death, and was himself worshipped as a Deity. He also farther informs us, that ‡ *Taautus* or *Thooth*, whom *Cronus* constituted King of *Egypt*, reduced Religion into a

* Apud Euseb. P. Evan. p. 38. † Id. ibid. p. 40.

‡ Ταυτθ, ον Αιγυπτίω Θωδ προσαρρευσι, σφια διενεγκων ὧσα τοις Φοινίξι, περτθ τα κατὰ τὴν θεοτέλειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. Id. ibid. p. 40.

proper Scheme ; that * in imitation of *Coelus*, who deified his Parents, he formed the Images of the Gods *Cronus* and *Dagon*, and the sacred Characters or Resemblances of the other Gods, who had the Names of the Elements, and made many symbolical Representations of *Cronus*, and that he attributed a kind of Divinity to Dragons and Serpents, and that therefore these kind of Animals were used in their Sacred Rites and Mysteries. And his very Name seems to intimate his great fondness for these kind of Extravagances, as it comes from *πυρ* *exorbitavit*, whence in the *Arabian Language* † *تاوتون* *Tauton* signifies an *Idol*, a *Southsayer*, and the Author and Leader of any exorbitant Practice whatsoever.

Philo || *Byblius* in his Preface to his Translation of *Sanhoniathon* tells us : That 'tis necessary, to a right and particular Knowledge of these Things, first to lay this as a Foundation : That the most ancient of the *Barbarians*, and particularly the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, from whom the rest of Mankind have received the

* Περὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν Ταυτὸ μιμησάμενθ' τον υἱον, τῶν θεῶν ὤψης, Κρονὸν τε καὶ Δαγῶνθ', καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διετυπώσεν τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν σιγῶν χαράκτηρας. Apud eund. p. 39.

† Id. ibid. p. 40. ‡ Gol. in voce.

|| Οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐξαίρετως δὲ φοινίκης τε καὶ Αἰγυπῆιοι, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρελάβον ἀνθρώποι, θεοὺς ἐνομιζόντες τὰς τὰς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρῆσιν εὐνοίας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐποιστίας τὰ ἐθνη, εὐεργέτας τε τῆς, καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίας ἀγαθῶν ηὐκλειῶν ὡς θεοὺς προσέκυναν ——— ἐξαίρετως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλείων, τοῖς κοσμικοῖς σιγῶν καὶ τισὶ τῶν νομίζοντων θεῶν τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐπέθεσαν. Apud eund. p. 32, 33.

Doctrine,

Doctrine, thought those to be their greatest Gods, who first found out the Necessaries of Life, or who in any Instances had conferred Benefits on Nations ; and thinking them their Benefactors, and the Causes of great Good to them, they worshipped them as Gods ; and that applying their Temples to this Use, they consecrated Pillars and wooden Statues to their Name, paid them great Adoration, and kept solemn Festivals in Honour of them ; and that they imposed the Names of some of their Kings on the Elements of the World, and some other Things which they esteemed Gods. But that the Sun and Moon, and the rest of the Planets, and the Elements, and other Things like these, they esteemed the only *physical* or *natural* Gods. 'Tis evident from these Accounts that both *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* agree as to the Original and Causes of those Superstitions that prevailed amongst them ; that they were introduced by the most ancient of Men, that the Posterity of *Ham* were the great Spreaders of them, that their Gods were of the same kind ; either natural, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Elements of the World ; or mortal Men, their first and earliest Kings, to whom they were indebted for forming them into Societies, and for the many and useful Discoveries they made for the Assistance and Support of human Life ; and that by imposing the Names of their Kings on those other physical or natural Gods, the Worship paid to either related to both ; whereby *fidereal*
Worship,

Worship, and that of moral Men along with it, gradually spread itself from *Egypt*, and principally from *Phenicia*, by means of its Trade and Colonies, in a few hundred Years after the Flood, amongst all the Posterity of the three Sons of *Noah*; an Account this so natural, and carrying so much Probability on the Face of it, that I cannot but wonder, that the Original of the great Gods of the Gentiles should be placed by any so low as the Times of *Sesac* or *Solomon*.

Plato * informs us, that an *Egyptian* Priest from the sacred Records informed *Solon*, that their Country escaped the Deluge, and that their Laws † relating to their Priests and the Affairs of Religion were above eight thousand Years old. That the Gods ‡ nine thousand Years ago divided the World between them, and that *Vulcan* and *Minerva* obtained *Attica* by Lot; that *Minerva*, who was an *Egyptian* as well as *Grecian* Goddess, had the same Form and Figure then as in those ancient Times, and that the religious Rites of *Egypt* had undergone no Alteration for near || ten thousand Years together.

* Καὶ αὖτε τὴνδε τὴν χώραν ὅτε τότε ὅτε ἀλλοτὲ ἀνῶθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς ὕδωρ ἐπέρει, τὸ δ' ἐναντιον, κατῶθεν ἐπανίσταται πεφυκέν· ὁδὸν καὶ δι' αἰτίας τὰνθαδὲ σωζόμενα. *Timæ.* p. 22.

† Τῆς δὲ ἐνθαδὲ διακοσμησεως παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γραμμασι οὐκ ἑξακισχίλιον ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γεγραπῆται. *Id. ibid.* p. 22.

‡ Τοῦ κεφαλαιον ἦν ἐννακίς ἐτη χίλια — θεοὶ γὰρ ἀπασαν γυνῆν ποίε' κατὰ τῆς τοπικῆς διελαγχάνον — καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς θεᾶς ὄνομα καὶ ἀγάλμα. *Id. Crit.* p. 108. 109. 110.

|| *De Leg.* p. 657.

Herodotus

Herodotus * informs us, that the *Egyptians* first used the Names of the twelve Gods, and that the *Greeks* received them from them; that they first distributed Altars, Images and Temples to them, and engraved Animals in Stone; that it was † above seventeen thousand Years, as the Priests informed him, from the Times of King *Amasis* up to those twelve Gods, who proceeded from the eight former Gods, and that *Menes*, who was the first Man that reigned amongst them, built a large and magnificent Temple in ‡ *Memphis* to *Vulcan*; which *Menes* was, as || *Josephus* tells us, many Years before *Abraham*. In the same City there was also a most ancient Temple built to *Sarapis*, as *Pausanias* § expressly affirms.

Diodorus Siculus carries up the Invention of the *Egyptian* Superstitions, as we have already seen, to the Gods themselves, or to their first Princes, who were deified after their Decease, and to whom Temples were built, and divine Honours decreed. * *Osiris* or *Mizraim*, Grandson to

* Δωδεκάτε θεων επωνυμιας ελεγον παλαις Αιγυπτίους νομισαι
 καὶ Ἕλληνας ὧσα σφρων αναλαβειν. L. 2. c. 4.

† Ως διε αυτοι λεγυσι ετα εστι επτακιχλια καὶ μυρια ες Αμασιν
 βασιλευσαντα, επει τε εκ των οκτω θεων οι δωδεκα θεοι εγενοντο.
 Id. ibid. c. 43.

‡ C. 99.

|| Ος ετεσι πολλοις εμπροθεν εγενετο τε παππε ημων Α-
 ρεαμυ. Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 6. §. 2.

§ Αιγυπτίοις δε ιερα Σαραπιδος, επρανεσταν μεν εστιν Αλεξαν-
 δρευσιν, αρχαιοτατον δε εν Μεμφει. Pausan. l. 1. p. 42. Edit.
 Kuhn.

* L. 1. p. 14.

Noah, consecrated his Parents, *Ham* and his Wife into Gods, and built for their Worship a very magnificent Temple. *Mercury* or *Thoth* appointed what related to the Honours and Sacrifices of the Gods. The Worship of the Dog and Wolf took its rise from two of the Companions of *Osiris*, and the very worst and grossest of their Superstitions were the Inventions of *Isis* his Sister and Queen. Having deified her Husband * she decreed to him divine Honours, and commanded each distinct Tribe of the Priests to consecrate to him one certain favourite Animal amongst them, and to worship this Animal as long as it lived, in the same manner as they did *Osiris* before; and when it died to shew the same Care and Honours at its Funeral, as they did at his. Hence, says † *Diodorus*, they worship even to this Time the Animals originally consecrated, and whenever they die renew their Grief for *Osiris* his Death at their Funerals. It was ‡ she also ordered the execrable Consecration and Worship of the *Phallus*,

* Παρχαλεσαι θαψαντας εν τοις ιδιοις πτοιοις το σωμα, τιμαν ως θεον τον Οσιριν. Κατερωσαι δε κ' των γενουμένων παρ' αυτοις ζωνων, οποιον αν βεληθωσι, κ' τετο εν μεν πο ζην τιμαν, καδατερ κ' πεστερον τον Οσιριν, μελα δε την τελευτην της ομοιας εκεινε κηδεας αξιν. Lib. i. p. 18.

† Διο κ' μεχει τε νυν — τα τε εξαςχης ασιερωθεντα ζα τιμαν, κ' τελευτησαντων αυτων εν ταις ταφαις αναγεσθαι το τε Οσιριδ' & πενθ' & Θ. Id. ibid. p. 19.

‡ Το δε αιδιον ——— υπο της Ισιδος εδεν ητιον των αλλων αξιωσθαι τιμων ισουδων. Εν τε γαρ τοις ιεροις εδωλον αυτε κατασκευασασαν τιμαν καθαριξαι, κ' καθα τας τελεας κ' τας δυσιας, τω θεω τελω γενουμεν, εντιμολαον ποιησαι, κ' φλεσεσθε σβασμε πυχαρειν. Id. ibid. et Plutar. de Is. et Osir. p. 32.

or Image in Representation of her Husband's genital Member, placing it in his Temple, and commanding the highest divine Honours to be paid it.

Plutarch † in his *Isis* and *Osiris*, in the Account he gives of the Latter, makes him one of the most early *Egyptian* Kings, contemporary with *Cronus*, and tells us he recovered the *Egyptians* from their sordid and brutal manner of living, that he shewed them the Use of Fruits, gave them Laws, and directed them how to worship the Gods; hereby making him the Founder of their Constitution and Government. Of *Isis* his Queen and Sister * he relates, that after she had extinguished the Madness and Rage of *Typho*, she did not suffer the Labours and Struggles she endured to be buried in Oblivion, but dressed up, in the most holy Rites, Representations, Descriptions and Imitations of the Events that happened to her, and thus consecrated them into Documents of Piety and Consolation for the Benefit of those who might be subject to the like Calamities.

‡ *Lucian* informs us, that the *Egyptians* are said to be the first of all Mankind who receiv-

† Βασιλευντα δε Οσιριν Αιγυπτίως μεν ευθως απορε βίη κ' επιρωδης απολλαξαι. καρπες τε δειξαντα, κ' νομους δεμενον αυλοις κ' θεος δειξαντα τιμαν. p. 356. A.

* P. 369.

‡ Πρωτοι μεν εν ανθρωπων, των ημεις ιδμεν Αιγυπτιοι λεγηναι. εων τε εννοιην λαβειν, κ' ισα εισαδαι, κ' τελευτα, κ' πανησυριας αποδειξαι. Πιστοι δε κ' ονοματα ιερα εγνωσαν, κ' λογους ιεους ελεξαν. De Dea Syr. p. 657.

ed the Knowledge of the Gods, built Temples and Groves, appointed sacred Solemnities, first knew the sacred Names, and taught the sacred Stories; and that in *Egypt* there are very wonderful Things to be seen, *Jove* with a Ram's Head, *Mercury* with a Dog's Face, *Pan* intirely a Goat, and the Gods *Ibis*, the Chrocodile, and the Ape. And if you would understand what all this means, their Sophists, Scribes and shaven Prophets will explain it; which Explanations are written and preserved in their Sanctuaries from innumerable Years past.

To these Testimonies I may add that of the Philosopher's old Friend *Manetho*, who † assures us, that when the Shepherds came down into *Egypt*, amongst other Things they cruelly burnt the Cities, and destroyed the Temples of the Gods. So that before the Descent of the Pastors, *i. e.* according to the Philosopher, before the *Hebrews* came down into *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* had their Gods and their Temples; and I may, I hope have liberty to add, that these Gods and Temples had their Priests, and that these Priests practiced several Superstitions in these Temples, and in honour of these Gods.

These several Accounts put together clearly shew us the Rise and Progress of Superstition and false Worship in the World. It began, as

† Ταυτα γαρ αμειλι εν τοις αδελφοις αποκειται γραφεντα περι η παρ ελων μυθιων. De Sacri. p. 369.

‡ Τας τε πολεις ωμως ενεπρησαν, κη τα ιερα των θεων κατασκαψαν. Jos. cont. Apion. l. 1. §. 14.

it was natural to imagine it should, in the Adoration of the heavenly Luminaries, the Sun, Moon and Stars, who were supposed to preside over the Day and Night, and the various Seasons of the Year, and to whom the earliest Nations were taught to ascribe the Origin and Diffolution of all Things. Next after these the Earth, and the several Elements of which the World was supposed to consist, had imaginary Deity ascribed to them, and came in for their Share of Adoration. And as the Glory of the celestial Bodies, and the constant Benefit Men received by their Light, Warmth and continual Influences on the Earth, first impressed Men with Wonder, drew them into Adoration, excited their Gratitude, and created in them an Imagination of their being Gods; they were afterwards led into an high Veneration for their Princes, whom they admired for their Power, Prudence, Strength and Knowledge; considering them as their *Benefactors*, who first taught them the Use of such Things, as greatly tended to the Preservation, Security, good Order, and Conveniences of Life; and from an Opinion of *the Immortality* of the Soul, and Sense of their great Merit, honoured them after Death, and built them Sepulchres, erected to them Pillars and Monuments, and appointed annual Solemnities to them, to perpetuate their Names and Honours to the most distant Posterity. And as Heaven and the starry Regions were with them the same Things, they gave them,

after

after their Removal by Death, their Habitation in some or other of the heavenly Bodies, and called those Stars by the Names of their deceased Princes and Benefactors, and paid them one common Adoration.

It would be easy to shew that almost all the ancient Gods of *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Greece* and *Rome*, were dead Men and Women deified for particular Reasons, whose Names were given to the Stars and Elements, or who were supposed to dwell in or preside over these Things, and especially to have the care of such as they were the first Inventors of. *Osiris* and *Isis* were the Sun and Moon. *Tubal-Cain* or *Vulcan*, who first found out the working Metals, denoted the Element of Fire, and presided over all Artificers in Metal. *Jobal* the Inventor of Musick before the Flood, was *Apollo* the God of Musick after it. The Gods according to the *Phenician* and * *Egyptian* Accounts were mortal Men, who for their Wisdom and great Benefactions to Mankind had been highly revered and loved whilst living; many of whom were Kings, and thought worthy of an eternal Habitation in the Stars after their Death. This is acknowledged by most of those who have given an Account of the Histories of ancient Nations, and † *Eue-*
merus

* Ως τη φύσει γεγονότας ανθρώπους. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 359.

† Λαμπρόν δε τις Ευήμερον το Μεσσηνικόν φανακισμοῖς παρρησιαν δίδοντας, ὅς αὐτὸς ἀντὶ γενομένης συνθέσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ ἀνυπαρκτοῦ μυθολογίας, πᾶσαν ἀδυστοκίαν κατασκεδάουσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὴν νομίζου-

merus the *Messenian* published a Treatise to prove that all those who were reputed to be Gods, were in reality nothing more than ancient Generals, Admirals and Kings.

Ancient Authors give various Accounts of the Origin of *Beast Worship* in *Egypt*, and the *Egyptians* themselves make it as early as their Gods, or first Kings and Princes. The *most fabulous* Account which the *Egyptians* are said to have preserved in their Temples for above ten thousand Years, and which shews their Sense of the high Antiquity of the Thing is: * That at the beginning the Gods being few, and oppressed by the Number and Impiety of the earth-born Sons of Men or Giants, changed themselves into the Shape of these irrational Animals, and thus escaped their Enemies; and that out of Gratitude to them for the Safety they hereby obtained, they consecrated these Animals, into which they had transformed themselves, to be their sacred Symbols for futurity; a Reason which the *Egyptians* urge, why their Nation was never

νεμιζομενος θεος παντος ομαλως διαγεσθων, εις ονομα στρατηγων η ναυαρχων η βασιλεων, ως δη παλαι γενησθων. Apud Plutarch. ibid. p. 360. Sext. Empir. cont. Phys. l. 9. §. 17.

* Φασι γαρ τες εξαρχης γενομενος θεος, ολιγους οντας, η καταπορευομενος υπο τε πλεονθους η της ανομιαις των γηγενων ανθρωπων, ομοιωθηναι πσι των ζωνων, η δια τε ποιαινε τροπος διαφυγειν την ομωτητα η βιαν αυτων. Τρεφειν δε — τοις αλίοις της εξαρχης σωτηριας χρειν αποδεντας, αφιερωσαι τας ψυχας αυτων οis εφομοιωθισαν, η καταδειξαι τοις ανθρωποις πi τρεφειν μεν επιμελως ζωντα, διαπλην δε τελευτησασα. Diod. l. 1. p. 77. Lucian. de Sacrif. p. 369. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. 5. Ovid. Metam. l. 5. v. 325—331. Plutar. de Is. et Osir. p. 379.

subjected

subjected to any of the *Asiatick* or *European* Princes. And though the Thing appears extremely absurd and ridiculous, yet probably when reduced to plain Truth, it means no more, than that, as others * say, these first Princes of *Egypt*, in their Engagements with their Enemies had the Images of these Animals wrought in their Ensigns and Standards, or on the Caps which they wore on their Heads as Badges of Command, and that when they had overcome their Enemies, they consecrated them as Causes and Emblems of their Victory; or which I rather think, they clothed themselves with the Spoils and Skins of these Beasts which they had killed in hunting, and appeared with them in their Wars, to make themselves look the more terrible, and strike a greater *Panick* into their Enemies. Thus † two of the Companions of *Osiris*, *Anubis* and *Macedo*, were Men of remarkable Strength, who wore as a Kind of Armour the Skins of Beasts; *Anubis* that of a Dog, and *Macedo* that of a Wolf; for which Reason, says *Diodorus*, these two Animals were honoured

* Επενοήσαν συνθήμα φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ταγμάτων. Φασιν ἔν κατὰσκευασάντας εἰκόνας τῶν ζῶων ὧν νυν πιμώσθαι, καὶ πιζάντας ἐπὶ συννίων [leg. σαυνίων] φορεῖν τὰς ἡγεμονίας. *Diod. l. i. p. 77.* *Plutarch. ibid. p. 380.*

† Τῷ δ' ἐν Οσίριδι συνεστραφεύδατο δύο λεγυσιν υἱοὺς Ἀνυβίν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, διαφερόντας ἀνδρείᾳ· ἀμφοτέρους δὲ χρῆσασθαι τοῖς ἐπισήμοτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τινῶν ζῶων — τὸν μὲν Ἀνυβίν περικεῖσθαι κυνίν, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα λύκῳ περιβουμένῳ, ἀπ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα τιμῆσθαι ὥσθ' αἰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. *Diodor. l. i. p. 16.*

by the *Egyptians*. The ancient * *Hercules* clothed himself with a Lion's Skin, because before the Invention of Armour they made use of the Skins of Beasts for their Defence.

Others assign as the Reason of this Practice the *great Usefulness* of these Beasts, and the Benefits they received from them. The *Egyptians*, says the † *Roman* Orator, whom we laugh at, have consecrated no Beast, but on Account of the Advantage which they received from it. They honoured the Cow, because useful in plowing; the Sheep, because it both clothed and fed them; the Dog for its Hunting and Fidelity, and therefore *Anubis* hath a Dog's Head, by which was symbolically denoted, that he was the Body-guard of *Osiris* and *Isis*; the Bird *Ibis*, because it destroyed Serpents; and Crocodiles, Cats, Scorpions, Hawks and other Things for like good Reasons. ‡ *Prodicus Ceus*, tells us, that the Ancients thought the Sun and Moon, Rivers and Fountains, and in a Word every Thing that was useful in human Life, to

* Ροπαλον κὴ τὴν λεοντίνην τῷ παλαιῷ ἀρεπεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ το — μὴτῶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ευρημάτων τῆς ἀνδρωπῆς τοῖς ἀνὴρ ξυλοῖς ἀμυνεσθαι τῆς ἀνίστασθαι κούρες, ταῖς δὲ δοξαῖς τῶν θνητῶν σκεπασθῆναι. Diod. l. 1. p. 21.

† Aegyptii, nullam belluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 36. Euseb. Præp. Evarg. l. 2. c. 1. p. 49 50. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 77. 78.

‡ Προδικὸς ὁ Κεῖς ἡλίου φησὶ καὶ σελήνης καὶ πύλας καὶ κρήνας, καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ ὠφελεντὰ τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν, οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαν, διὰ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελειάν. Apud Sext. Empir. cont. Phys. l. 9. p. 552. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

be Gods, because of their Utility. *Porphry*, who was a *great Adept* in this Part of Science, assigns various other Reasons for this Practice, as he had been informed by the *Egyptian* Priests. He tells us, * that by their abundant Wisdom, and perpetual Converse with divine Things, they had found out, that some of the Gods had a greater Affection for certain Animals than for Men, and who those Gods were. The Sun delighted in the Hawk, because he was a long-lived Bird, and for other Reasons. An unlearned Man, and one ignorant in divine Things, he tells us, would abhor the *Scarabæus* or Beetle; but that the good People of *Egypt* worshiped it as a living Image of the Sun, because every *Scarabæus* is Male, and because it hath some Kind of Motion with its Legs that resembles the Motion of the Sun. Thus also they philosophize concerning the Ram, and the Crocodile, the Vultur, the Ibis, and every one of the sacred Animals. So that by their Wisdom and high Knowledge of divine Things, they came at last to the Worship of the brute Animals. Thus *Porphry* and his *Egyptian* Priests. But I am much mistaken, if this Beast Worship was not more ancient than these Reasons for it, and

* Ετι δ' εκ πειτηνης σοφιας, κ' της ωει το θεον συνιερσοφιας, χατελαβον τισι των θεων ωεσφιλη των ζων τινα μαλλον ανδρωπων — Κανθαρον δε αμαθης βδελυχθειη αναστωνων υπαρχων των θεων. Αιγυπτιοι δε εσεφθησαν ως εικονα ηλιε εμψυχον — ωτπερ εκ φεσησας κ' της αγαν θεοσοφιας επι το σεβας ελθεν κ' των ζων. Αμαθης δε ανθρωπος κδε αυλο τελο υπωπλευσαν, η τ. λ. De Abstin. l. 4. §. 9.

these Reasons invented afterwards, in some sort to palliate and justify so fordid and foul a Superstition. But notwithstanding all *Porphyry's* Endeavours to vindicate it, such Practices want, as * *Lucian* wittily observes, a *Democritus* to laugh at their Madness, and an *Heraclitus* to lament and weep over their Ignorance.

But there is another Reason assigned by *Lucian*, that to me is the most probable of all. He tells † us, that the *Egyptians* found out how to measure the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, and how to compute Years, and Months and Seasons. They measured the Month by the Revolutions of the Moon, and the Year by that of the Sun; they divided that Part of the Heavens, and the fixed Stars stationed in it, through which the moveable Stars or Planets pass, into twelve Parts, and represented each Part by some proper different Animal of their own; partly by

* Ταῦτα κτὼ γινόμενα, καὶ ὑπο τῶν πολλῶν πνευομένη, δεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ τε μὲν ἐπιμνησκόντος ἔθενθ, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ τινθ, ἡ Δημοκρίδης τε μὴρ, γαλασσόμενος τὴν ανοίαν αὐτῶν, τε δὲ, τὴν ἀγνοίαν οὐδερμεύς. *Lucian. de Sacr. in Fin.*

† Αἰγυπῆσιοι δὲ — μετρεῖα τε τῆς ἐκαστῆς κινήσεως ἐσημνῶντο, καὶ ἐτεῶν ἀριθμόν, καὶ μῶντων, καὶ ὥρων διέλαξαντο. Καὶ μνητῶν μὴρ σείσι μετρεῖν ἢ σιληναίῃ, καὶ ἡ ταύτης ἀναστροφή ἐγένετο. Ἐτεος δὲ πελιθ καὶ ἡ τε πελὶς περιφορὸς. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐσημνῶντο πολλὰ μεζῶ τῶντων. Ἐκ γὰρ ἐν τε πανθ περθ, καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἀλλῶν, ἀπλανεῶν τε καὶ εὐσταθεῶν, καὶ ὑδ' ἀμα κινουμένων, διωδὲκα μοίρας ἔαμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινουμένοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖα ζῶα ἐοῖα ἐκαστῇ αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφήν μεμιμεῖσθαι. Τα μὴρ, ἐναλῖα, τα δὲ, ἀνδρῶπων, τα δὲ, θύρων, τα δὲ, πῆλτων, τα δὲ, κῆνεων. Ἀπο τῶν ἐν καὶ ἰερα τα Αἰγυπῖα πολυεδὲα ποιεῖσθαι — καὶ κείον μὴρ σεβῆσι, οὐκοῦν ἐς κείον ἀπὸ κείων, ἰχθύας δὲ καὶ σῖληνας οὐκοῦν ἰχθύας ἐσημνῶντο. ἔδε τετραγὼν κῆνευσι οὐκοῦν αἰγρέων ἠδὲσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῖα, ὥς ἐκαστὴ ἰλασκόνται. *Lucian. de Astrolog.* p. 848. 849.

those of the Sea, partly by Men, partly by wild Beasts, by Birds and by Cattle. And from hence arose many Sorts of sacred Rites in *Egypt*; for that in their Divinations they did not all of them regard every one of these twelve Parts, but some one, and some another. Hence they, who principally regarded the Ram, worshiped him; they who remarked the celestial Fishes, abstained from Fish, nor would they who delighted in *Capricorn* kill the Goat, and so with respect to the rest of the Signs, as they severally worshiped them; and finally the *Egyptian Apis* was worshiped in honour of the celestial Bull. In like manner the ancient * *Chaldeans* reckoned twelve principal Gods, each of which had his Month dedicated to him, and one of the Signs of *the Zodiack*. The Division of *the Zodiack* into these twelve Parts, assigning a particular God to preside over them, and representing each of them by several Animals, was a Kind of Consecration of them, and gave probably the first Rise to the Veneration and Worship that was paid to them. Now the Division of Time into Years and Months was very ancient, both in *Egypt* and amongst the *Jews*. The Year, the Month, and the Day of the Month, of the Beginning of the Flood, of the Resting of the Ark, of the Appearance of the Tops of the Mountains, and the drying up the Waters, are

* Των θεων δε κυριους ειναι φασι δωδεκα τον αριθμον, ων εκαστω μηνι, κη των δωδεκα λεγομενων ζωδιω εν προσωπευματι. Diodor. l. 2. p. 117.

particularly

particularly recorded. The Years of *Abraham*, *Ishmael* and *Isaack*, not to add those of the Patriarchs before, and those who immediately succeeded them after the Flood, down to *Abraham*, are expressly taken notice of. *Jacob's* Abode with *Laban* a Month, and contracting to serve him two seven Years, proves that the Month and the Year were well known in *Mesopotamia*. *Pharaoh's* Dreams and *Joseph's* Interpretation of them, as denoting seven Years of Plenty, and seven of Famine, necessarily suppose that the Year was at that Time well known in *Egypt*. *Moses* was hid three Months. God's altering the Beginning of the Year amongst the *Jews*, from what they had before observed in *Egypt*, and ordering the Month *Abib* to be observed as the Beginning of their Months, and the first Month of the Year to them for the future, shews that the Division of Time into Months and Years, and the Division of the Year into proper Months, were well understood by the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*. And if the Brute Worship of the *Egyptians* had its Rise in any Measure from those Animals which represented the twelve Divisions of the *Zodiack*, and to which Divisions the twelve Months of the Year were correspondent, this Worship of Animals must have been of the most early Original and Practice.

However, it was certainly a *Weed* of *Egyptian* Growth, which that Soil very easily produced, having sprang up, as hath been before observed, and as is acknowledged even by Sir J.

Newton,

Newton, before the Descent of *Jacob* into that Country. And from these Accounts of sacred and profane History, which have been thus laid together, the Reader I think cannot but be convinced that Superstition and Idolatry, in all the Kinds of it, in the Worship of the celestial Bodies, dead Men, and brute Beasts, were very early practiced amongst the *Egyptians*, and that both these Kinds of History receive Light and Confirmation from each other. It is not indeed to be imagined that all these Superstitions came in all at once. Even the *Egyptian* * Temples were originally without Statues and Images, and those † of the *Theban* District are said anciently to have held, that no God was mortal, and that he whom they worshiped, and called *CNEPH*, was unbegotten and eternal. The heavenly Bodies could properly have no Images to represent them, and it is probable that the *Egyptian Cneph* was the Universe it self, which they held strictly everlasting. But when *Noah's* Posterity were divided into their several Countries, they gradually lost the Knowledge of the true God; and their several Leaders, who conducted their several Dispersions, had Opportunities of instilling into the Minds of those who followed them, what Superstitions they pleased,

* Το δε παλαιον η παρ' Αιγυπτίοις αξιοι νοι ησαν. *Lucian. de Dea Syr. p. 656. Eu eb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. p. 29.*

† Τες Θηβαιδα καλοικεντας ως θνητον θεον εδεναι νομιζοντας, αλλ' ου καλεσιν αυτοι Κηρ αγενητον οητα η αθανατον. *Plutar. de Il. et Olir. p. 359.*

and of improving them to such Purposes, as their own Ambition, and the keeping the several Colonies in subjection to their own Power and Authority dictated ; especially as in those early Times the Means of a better Education were greatly wanted, as there was no standing written Revelation to direct them, no Writings or Books in common Use for their Information, and as they were too much employed in settling themselves in their new Habitations, and providing for the Necessaries of Life, to attend to those Considerations, which might have led them to better Sentiments and Practices in Religion. This was properly that Season of the World when Superstition was most likely to thrive, when Princes had greater Power and Opportunity to establish it, and when it was actually introduced and settled amongst the Nations. Amongst the *Egyptians Osiris* or *Mizraim* is almost universally agreed, to have been the Father and Beginner of these Superstitions, which afterwards so plentifully encreased, and rose to such an enormous Height amongst his Posterity.

S E C T. XIV.

Of the Age of Sesostris.

OUR Philosopher having assigned the Original of Superstition to *an imaginary* Edict, procured by *Joseph* from *Pharaoh* the
 2 *Egyptian*

Egyptian King, for enriching the Priests, adds with his usual Assurance : * *Thus Egypt became the Mother and Nurse of Superstition, and which after the great Egyptian Empire arose about Solomon's Time they spread and propagated to all their conquered Nations.* By the *Great Egyptian Empire that arose about Solomon's Time*, I suppose he means that of *Sesostris*, whom *Sir I. Marsham*, *Le Clerc*, *Sir I. Newton*, and others, make to be the same Person with the Scripture *Shisac* or *Sesac*, who invaded the Kingdom of *Judea*, in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*. But there are I think very strong Arguments to prove that *Sesostris* and *Sesac* were two very different Persons, and lived at very different Periods.

If the Voice of Antiquity is to be regarded, it is wholly subversive of *Sir John Marsham's* Scheme, and without very full Proof to the contrary, I apprehend that Testimony will deserve great Credit. † *Diodorus S.* tells us, that *Sesostris* was succeeded by his Son, who assumed his Father's Name; that many Generations after his Death *Amasis* was made King, that he was succeeded by *Aëtisanes* the *Ethiopian*, he by *Mendes* or *Marus*, five Generations after whom reigned one *Proteus*, who was contemporary with the *Trojan War*, was of ignoble Birth, and raised to the Crown after a long *Anarchy*; and by ‡ *Herodotus* his Manner of Expression, he

* P. 22.

† Lib. 1. p. 53. &c.

‡ Τὸς δὲ ἐκδὲξάσθαι τὴν βασιλείην εἰλεν ἀνδρᾶ Μεμφοῖτην.
L. 2. c. 112.

seems to intimate somewhat like it, by saying that a certain Man of *Memphis* succeeded *Pheron* the Son of *Sesoftris*, called by the *Greeks* *Proteus*; a Kind of Expression that points him out as one of an obscure Original, who therefore it is not likely would have succeeded the Son of the illustrious *Sesoftris*, but in consequence of some domestick Disturbances and Confusions. But this will not suit the Time when Sir *I.* places *Sesoftris*; for he makes seventy Years from *Sesac*'s sacking *Jerusalem*, and fifty two from *Sesac*'s Death, to the taking of *Troy*; thereby making *Sesac* reign before the *Trojan* War; whereas *Diodorus* makes five Generations, or 166 Years from *Mendes* to *Proteus*, and many more Generations from *Sesoftris* to *Mendes*; and accordingly Sir *I. Marsham* tells * us, that *Eratosthenes* places the End of his Table of Kings at the taking of *Troy*, because he well knew that *Sesoftris* was several Ages later than this Transaction.

Again Sir *I. Newton* makes *Minos* King of *Crete*, Contemporary with *Sesac*. But † *Aristotle* expressly says, that *Sesoftris* reigned a long while before *Minos*. *Dicæarchus* before mentioned makes *Sesoftris* or *Sesonchosis* to have succeeded *Orus* the Son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and makes 2936 Years from *Sesoftris* his Reign to the first Olympiad. But from *Sesac*'s Invasion to the first Olympiad, in about the thirty fourth Year

* P. 249.

† Πολυ γὰρ υπέρλαβει τοις χρόνοις την Μινω βασιλειαν η Σε-
σασφις. Politic. lib. 7. c. 10.

of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, were but 201 Years, according to the Scripture Chronology. Again, * *Apollodorus* tells us, that from the *Trojan War* to the first Olympiad, were 408 Years; but from *Sesac's* Reign to the first Olympiad were according to the Scripture, as hath been shewn, but 201 Years; and by consequence the taking of *Troy* must be 207 Years before *Sesac*, and therefore Sir *Isaac's* Computation can't be true, who places *Sesac* or *Sesostris* his Invasion but 70 Years prior to the *Trojan War*. *Manetho*, as *Josephus* † represents him, affirms, that from the Expulsion of the Shepherds or *Jews* out of *Egypt* under *Tethmosis* to *Danaus*, and *Sethosis* or *Sesostris*, were 393 Years. But the Scriptures expressly affirm, that from this *Exodus* from *Egypt*, to the fourth Year of *Solomon's* Reign were 480 Years, which with the 36 Years remainder of his Reign, and the five first of *Rehoboam*, *Shisac* invading him in the fifth, make up 521 Years; so that from the Reign of *Sesostris* to that of *Shisac* were 253 Years Distance. *Thucydides* ‡ tells us, that *Homer* was

* Απο δε των Τρωικων, ακυλεως Απολλοδωρω τω Αθηναιω, τιθεμεν ογδοηκοντα ετη προς την καθοδον των Ηρακλειδων. Απο δε ταυτης επι την πρωτην ολυμπιαδα δυσι λειποντα των τριακοσιων η̄ τριακοντα. Diodor. in Proœm. p. 5. 6.

† Δηλον δε εστιν εκ των ηρημενων ετων τε χρονε συλλομαθεν̄, οτι οι καλυμενοι ποιμνες, ημε̄εροι δε προγονοι, τρισι η̄ ενεννηκοντα η̄ τριακοσιοις προσδω̄ν ετεσιν εκ της Αιγυπτ̄ς απαλλαξεν̄τες, την χωραν ταυτην αποκησαν, η Δαναον εις Αργος αφικεσθαι. Cont. Apion. l. 1. §. 16.

‡ Ομηρος, πολλω υστερ̄ ετι η̄ των Τρωικων γεγονῡ. P. 3. Ed. Huds.

born much later than the *Trojan War*, which can never be reconciled with Sir *Isaac's Account*, that he flourished but 34 Years after that Event, and who consequently must have been born at the taking that City. And therefore the Times of the *Trojan War* and of *Sesostris* must be much earlier than that learned Writer places them, and which therefore can never fall in with the Times of the Scripture *Sesac*. *Josephus* his Testimony is I know disputed, and by some produced to prove that *Sesostris* and *Sesac* were the same Person. *Perizonius* † hath I think unanswerably confuted this Opinion, and I cannot indeed but wonder how such a Notion could be entertained by Sir *I. Marsham*, and other learned Writers, since *Josephus* certainly makes them two as different Persons as Words can make them. His Words are these. * *God sent Soufac the King of Egypt to avenge the Impieties Rehoboam had committed against him, concerning whom* (Soufac) *Herodotus being mistaken, attributes his Actions to Sesostris.* The Mistake therefore of *Herodotus* was not calling *Soufac* by a wrong Name, but attributing the Actions of *Soufac* a later Prince to *Sesostris* who lived long before him: And it is impossible to imagine that *Josephus* could intend this Absurdity, that God sent *Soufac* to punish the *Jews*, and that *Herodotus* being mistaken as to *Soufac* ascribed

† *Aegypt. Orig.* cap. 8.

* Γνωμεν δε των εκ αυτων υβρεων ο θεος επιτιμει πιν των Αιγυπτιαν βασιλεα Σουακην, ως ο Πλανηθης Ηροδοτος τας πράξεις αυτης Σεσωστρει προσπιλει. *De Antiq.* l. 8. c. 10. §. 2.

the Actions of his Name to the Name of *Sesoftris*. No. The Error evidently was, the putting one King for another, and ascribing that Invasion to *Sesoftris* which was made by *Sousac*. And this will explain what *Josephus* † farther adds: *Herodotus mentions also his Expedition, being mistaken only in the Name of the King, and that he invaded many other Nations, and subdued Palestine in Syria, reducing the People in it without a Battle: i. e. Herodotus was mistaken only in the Name of the King, putting the Name of one King for the Name of another King, and in saying that he invaded many other Nations and subdued Palestine without a Battle. For the King he should have named was Sefac and not Sesoftris; nor did Sefac invade other Nations, nor subdue all Palestine without a Battle, but only Reboboam and Jerusalem, and when he had done this, returned as * Josephus expressly says, into his own Country. And that the Expedition described by Herodotus, was this under Sefac, and not under Sesoftris, he endeavours to prove by two Arguments; viz. because Herodotus says, that Sesoftris left Pillars on which were inscribed the Αἰδοία γυναικων, in those*

† Μεννῆται δὲ ταύτης τῆς σεσίτης καὶ ὁ Αἰγυπτιακὸς Ἡρόδοτος, ὡς μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως ὠλανθησὶς ὀνομα. καὶ ὅτι ἀλλοίς τε πῶλοις ἐπηλθεν ἐθνέσι, καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐδεδάσατο, λαβὼν ἀμαχίῃ τὰς ἀνδράπας τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ. Id. ibid. §. 3. Ὀνομα denotes the Person and Name of the King. Thus *Diodorus* tells us the Myseries of *Isis* were like those of *Ceres*, τῶν ὀνομάτων μόνον ἐνῆλλαγματων; the Names of the Persons only differing. L. 1. p. 88. l. 22

* Καὶ τὸ πομπῆς ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκία. Id. ibid.

Countries who surrendred without a Battle, and affirms that the *Phenicians* and *Syrians* in *Palestine* own that they learnt Circumcision from the *Egyptians*. Now says *Josephus* it is plain from these two Circumstances, that *Herodotus* intended to describe the Conquest of our Nation by the *Egyptians*; because *Rehoboam* surrendred the City without a Battle, and because it is certain that no other Persons were circumcised in the *Syrian Palestine* but the *Jews* only. And therefore the great Error of *Herodotus*, according to *Josephus*, was not, as * *Sir Isaac* explains it, his calling *Sesac*, by a Corruption of his Name, *Sesostris*, but in attributing *Sesac*'s Actions to *Sesostris*, and in affirming that *Sesac* invaded other Nations, and conquered all *Palestine*, whereas after the Conquest of *Rehoboam*, he immediately returned home. *Josephus* well enough knew that *Sesostris* invaded and subdued all *Asia*, and gives from *Manetho* a particular Account of his Expedition and Conquest, under the Name of *Sethosis*, and places it, from the same Author, above 250 Years before the Expedition of *Sesac*.

I have carefully looked over *Sir I. Marsham*'s Account of these two Princes, and find that the principal, I may say the only Argument he makes use of to prove them to be one and the same, are the Passages he cites out of *Josephus*. But how little can be concluded from thence hath been already shewn. That learned Gentleman was well aware, that it would be an

* *Sir I. N.* p. 70.

Objection against his Scheme, that those Heroick Actions of *Sesoftris* were taken no Notice of by the *Greek Poets*, *Hesiod*, *Homer* and other Writers; and therefore he hath very properly endeavoured to obviate it. * If, says he, *Sesoftris had gone into Greece, as the Persians afterwards did, he would have obtained a more illustrious Fame amongst Posterity. For Phorbas then reigned at Athens, and the Successors of the Heraclidæ in the fourth Descent at Lacædemon and Corinth, who would have preserved the Memory either of his Valour or Misfortune. The Grecian Affairs were so low, that they took but little Notice of them, and had no Acquaintance with those of foreign Countries. Homer was not yet born, who lived long before the Greeks attempted the Writing of History. But as it is allowed that Sesoftris reduced not only Asia, but the Cyclades Islands, which lye between Greece and Asia, and in which the Greeks had so great an Interest, and that he penetrated into Thracia in Europe, where he had like to have lost his Army, and where he put a Stop to his farther Progress; it is impossible these Transactions could have been wholly unknown to the Greeks, which were transacted in their Neighbourhood, or wholly passed over in Silence by them, had this Expedition been so late as Sir I. Marsham puts it. This learned Writer † makes Homer to have flourished 302 Years after the Destruction of Troy, and places the taking of this City se-*

* P. 380.

† P. 437.

veral Ages before *Sesoftris*. And therefore tho' he tells us that Homer *was not yet born*, viz. at the Time of *Sesoftris* his Expedition, yet he must have been born not long after it. And if he had such Plenty of Materials to celebrate the Expedition to *Troy* in *Asia*, though 302 Years before his own Birth, and several Ages before *Sesoftris*; his not being born at the Time of the Expedition of *Sesoftris* can never be urged as a good Reason for his taking no notice of that Prince, who was by Sir *I. Marsham*'s own Confession several Ages later than the *Trojan* War.

Sir *I. Newton* * on the contrary, makes the *Trojan* War to be later than *Sesoftris*, and places it fifty two Years after the Death of that Prince, and tells † us, that *Hesiod* and *Homer* flourished but thirty four Years after the *Trojan* War, and but eighty six after the Death of *Sesac* or *Sesoftris*; and therefore neither *Hesiod* nor *Homer* can be supposed Strangers to this Expedition, had it been so near their Time as Sir *Isaac* represents it. *Hesiod* ‡ speaks both of the *Argonautick* and *Trojan* Expeditions, the former of which was according to Sir *I.* but seventeen Years after the Death of *Sesoftris*. He mentions *Japetus*, whom Sir *Isaac* says was his Brother, and *Prometheus* whom he calls his General, and who he says was left by him on Mount *Caucasus*, and *Atlas* the Son of *Japetus* as sustaining the Heavens. The Distance therefore of Time between *Sesoftris* and *Hesiod* could be no Reason

* Chron. p. 23. 29. † P. 29. 32. ‡ Op. et D. v. 162. &c. for

for his taking no notice of him, because he mentions his Contemporaries, and particularly the the Facts immediately succeeding the Death of *Sesoftris*; viz. the Battle of the Gods; which, according to Sir *I.* was nothing more than the Invasion of *Egypt* under *Japetus* and his Son *Atlas*, the Brother and Nephew of *Sesoftris*, and which by his Chronology must have happened but a little before, or in the Time of *Hesiod*. Now that *Japetus* and *Prometheus* and *Atlas* should be celebrated in *Hesiod's* Poems, and *Sesoftris* their King, and the Conqueror of the World, should be wholly omitted by him, is to me an incredible Supposition; and especially that he should be omitted in the *Theogony*, if *Sesoftris* was, as Sir *Izaak* tells * us, the *Bacchus* and *Mars* and *Hercules* of the Ancients; and who, if erected into these Deities so near *Hesiod's* Time, as Sir *Izaak* supposes, must, as to his Original, have been well known to *Hesiod*; who hath a whole Poem in honour of *Hercules*, and often speaks of *Mars*, and who must have been acquainted with his Invasion of *Thrace*, if he was, as Sir *I.* affirms, the *Tracian Ma-fors*, *Mavors*, or *Mars*.

Homer is said by the same learned † Writer to be Contemporary with *Hesiod*. Now *Homer* makes mention of *Egypt* in both his Poems, and particularly of *Thebes* with her hundred Gates, and two hundred Men with their Horses and Chariots going out of every Gate, and of

* P. 23. 24.

† P. 32.

Paris, Menelaus and *Helena*, having been in that Country; and of the *Ethiopians* and *Lybians*, and several *Egyptian* Persons. Now it is I think highly improbable that *Homer* should not once introduce this *Egyptian* Hero *Sesostris* into his Poems, if his Reign and Actions had been so near *Homer's* Time, as *Sir Isaac* places them; especially as he had subdued all *Asia*, set up his Pillars near *Ephesus* in *Ionia*, a Province bordering on *Phrygia* itself where *Troy* stood, and which therefore he must have reduced amongst other *Asiatick* Cities. *Sesostris* his Expedition into *Asia*, upon *Sir Isaac's* Scheme must have happened in the Time of *Laomedon*, Father of *Priamus*; and accordingly he * tells us, that *Sesostris* goes through *Asia* and *Syria* into *Egypt*, with innumerable Captives, amongst whom was *Tithonus*, Son of *Laomedon* King of *Troy*. *Troy* therefore was taken by *Sesostris*, and *Homer* expressly mentions the taking of it under *Laomedon* by *Hercules*. Now had this *Hercules* been the same with *Sesostris*, here was the fairest Opportunity to have celebrated his Conquest of *Asia*, and immortalized his Name by a few Verses in honour of him. But how different is *Homer's* Account from that of a triumphant Conqueror? All that he puts into the Mouth of *Tlepolemus*, the Son of *Hercules*, is

* P. 21.

* that

* that his Father came to *Troy* for the Horses of *Laomedon*, with six Ships only, and a small Number of Men, and took and depopulated the City ; an Account that I believe no Man will say can belong to *Sesoftris*, or be a Description of his taking *Troy*. *Homer* therefore knew nothing of *Sesoftris*, nor of his *Asiatick* Conquest, nor of his reducing *Troy* ; and I think this a strong Probability that *Sesoftris* did not live so late as Sir *I.* places him, and could not be therefore the Scripture *Sesac*.

But I shall leave all farther Arguments from foreign History to another Place, and consider what Light the sacred History will give us into this Affair ; and I think many Circumstances may be collected from hence to prove, that *Sesoftris* could not be the Scripture *Sesac*. The Account of his Invasion is this : That † *Sesac King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with 1200 Chariots, 60,000 Horsemen, and the People were without Number that came with him out of Egypt, the Lubims, the Sukkims and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced Cities of*

* Ος ποτε δευ' ελθων, ενεχ' ιππων Λαομεδοντος,
Εξ οινς συν νηυσι κ' ανδρασι πανεσπεροισιν
Ιλις εξαλαπαξε πολιν, χηρωσι δ' αγυιας.

Il. s. v. 640. &c.

Troy felt his Arm, and yon proud Ramparts stand
Rais'd on the Ruins of his vengeful Hand.
With six small Ships, and but a slender Train
He left the Town a wide deserted Plain.

POPE.

† 2 Chron. xii. 2. &c.

Judah,

Judah, and came to Jerusalem; and took away the Treasures of the House of the Lord, and the Treasures of the King's House, he took all, and carried away also the Shields of Gold, which Solomon had made. The Account of Sesostris his Forces differs greatly from this, as related by *Diodorus*, who makes them 27,000 Chariots, 24,000 Horse, and 600,000 Foot. But not to insist on this, it appears from the manner of the Relation by the sacred Historian, that this was only a particular Expedition against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. The King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem because they had transgressed against the Lord. Probably the immediate Motive to *Shisac* was, the immense Riches which he knew *Solomon* had amassed, and left his Son *Rehoboam* in possession of. And therefore as God made use of him to punish the Iniquities of *Judah*, he seems to have confined his Invasion to *Judah* and *Jerusalem* only, and when he had sacked the City to have returned back again into *Egypt*. For the sacred History takes no farther notice, than that he took away all the Treasures, and carried away *Solomon's* Shields of Gold. And accordingly *Josephus* expressly says, that when he had done this he returned into his own Country. There is not the least Intimation of his making any farther Progress, not so much of one single March beyond *Jerusalem*, or invading any of the Cities of *Israel* under *Jeroboam*, though *Sir Isaac Newton* says * *Jeroboam* was

* P. 235.

in subjection to him; and though it was absolutely impossible that he could pass into *Asia* without marching thro' the greatest Part of his Dominions, and highly improbable that he would omit securing them, before he made any farther Progress in his Expedition. Besides, *Sesac* in his return to *Egypt* nine Years after must pass through *Judea*, and Sir *I.* allows he did so; and yet there is not the least Intimation of it in the sacred Writings; a Circumstance that could scarce be omitted, had this Expedition of *Sesac* been the same with that of *Sesostris*, or *Sesac* ever been a second Time in *Judea* or at *Jerusalem*. But *Sesostris*, even as *Josephus* himself assures us from *Manetho*, made his Expedition into *Cyprus* and *Phenicia*, invaded the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, and subdued all of them; some by Conquest in Battle, and others *αμαχῆτι*, by a surrender to his Power through Fear, without the Hazard and Expence of a single Action. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* agree much in the same Account, and assign nine Years for the Period of this Expedition; Circumstances that do not in the least appear to belong to the History of the Scripture *Sesac*.

When *Sesac* had finished his Expedition, the sacred Historian observes, that upon Rehoboam's † *bumbling himself*, the Wrath of God turned from him, and also in Judah Things went well, and Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem: יְתָחַז, the Word is used in a military Sense to denote warlike Preparations, and the Security of a Country or City by Forces and Fortifications.

† V. 12, 13.

And this must be the Meaning of it here, for the Historian adds : * *There were Wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually*, or as it is expressed in † *the Kings, all their Days*. But is it a Thing to be supposed, that if the taking of *Jerusalem* had been but the Beginning of *Sesac's* Expedition, and he had gone on conquering *Asia*, that *Rehoboam* could thus have strengthened himself in *Jerusalem*, or that he and *Jeroboam* would have been permitted to have raised Forces, and carried on a perpetual War against one another even whilst *Sesac* was in his Expedition, and when those Princes knew that he must return back to *Egypt* through their Country ? Conquerors don't use to allow such a Power to their conquered Provinces ; nor is it in the least probable that whilst *Sesac* was in Arms, the *Jewish* Princes would have dared to have taken any such Liberties. And this is the less probable, that *Rehoboam* could have thus strengthened himself in *Jerusalem*, or harassed *Jeroboam* with a perpetual War, if *Jeroboam* had been, what Sir *Isaac* calls him, *the Friend and Ally* of *Sesac*. Nodoubt but he would have used his Interest with the *Egyptians* to have kept *Rehoboam* in awe, and secured to himself the peaceable Possession of his Kingdom. *Rehoboam's* Son and Successor *Abijah* was in so little Apprehension of the Power of *Egypt*, and so intirely free from all Controul, as that he raised an Army of 400,000 Men ‡, beat *Jeroboam*, took

* V. 15. † 1 Kings xiv. 30. ‡ 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

from him many of his Cities and Towns, and as the Historian says, *waxed mighty*, or as the Word signifies, *strengthened himself*, viz. by depressing his Enemy, and extending his Conquests; and all this, upon Sir *Isaac's* Scheme, whilst *Sesostris* was yet alive, and in all his Glory in *Egypt*.

It is more remarkable yet, what is said of the first ten Years of *Asa's* Reign. * *In his Days the Land was quiet ten Years, and he built fenced Cities in Judah, because the Lord had given him Rest; therefore he said to Judah, let us build Cities, and make about them Walls, and Towers, Gates and Bars, whilst the Land is yet before us*, i. e. whilst we are free from Enemies, and in full Possession of our Liberty. *And they built and prospered*. His Army consisted of 580,000 Men. If therefore *the Land was free before them*, they were no tributary Nation or subject Province; and therefore there was no *Egyptian* Empire, with *Sesostris* or *Sesac* at the Head of it, at this Time; and yet *Sesostris* must have been now alive according to the Account that all Historians give of the Length of his Reign. † Sir *I. Newton* was aware of this Objection, and therefore in order to get clear of it, supposes that the Land of *Judah* did not recover its Liberty till the fifth of *Asa*, when he imagines *Osiris*, or *Sesostris* or *Sesac*, was slain by his Brother, and *Egypt* fell into civil Wars for ten Years; during which Time *Asa* secured his Country by fortifying the

* 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 5, 6, 7.

† P. 235.

Cities of it. But there is no Appearance that *Abijah*, *Aſa*'s Predeceſſor, was in any awe of *Egypt*; and the ſacred Hiſtorian places *Aſa*'s firſt ten Years as the Years of quiet, when the Land was free before them. *Aſa*, ſays he, *reigned in his ſtead, in his Days the Land was quiet ten Years*; which, in the Connection in which it ſtands, plainly intimates the firſt ten Years after his coming to the Crown; the five firſt of which, upon Sir *Iſaac*'s Scheme, were during the Life of *Sefoſtris*. But I think *Sefoſtris* muſt have been alive long after the Fifth of *Aſa*, if he was the Scripture *Sefac*. Sir *Iſaac* places the Beginning of *Sefac*'s Reign in the Year before Chriſt 1002*, and the Beginning of his *Eastern Expedition* in the Year 974†, making twenty eight Years from the Beginning of his Reign to the Beginning of this Expedition. This laſted nine Years, which added to the former 28, makes 37. But according to *Diodorus*, *Sefoſtris* reigned in the whole but 33 Years. Sir *Iſaac* gives him a Reign of 45 Years, ‡ *Joſephus*, 59; *Manetho*, as cited by || *G. Syncellus*, 48. Sir *Iſaac*'s making 28 Years from the Beginning of *Sefac*'s Reign to the Beginning of his *Eastern* or *Indian Expedition* is without all Foundation of Probability. *Diodorus* tells us, that whiſt he was very young, he and his Companions were ſent by his Father upon an Expedition into *Arabia*. Put this at 18 or 20 Years of Age, and ſooner it is not

* P. 18. † P. 20. ‡ Cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 460.
|| Chron. p. 60.

likely that his Father would have entrusted him with the Management of such an Affair, or ventured all the Flower of the *Egyptian* Youth under his Command. From hence to his succeeding his Father Sir *I.* makes eight Years, and from his coming to the Crown to the Beginning of his *Asiatick* Expedition 28: In all 56 Years. * And therefore Sir *I.* upon his own Calculation must be mistaken, when he says, he might be about 46 Years old when he came out of *Egypt* with a great Army to invade the *East*, unless his Father sent him on the *Arabian* Expedition at ten Years of Age. He could not be much less than I have fixed it. But is it likely, that *Sesofstris* at this Time of Life would have set out on the Conquest of the World, when the Heat of Youth was quite subsided, and the Love of Peace and Rest becomes natural? † *Diodorus* tells us, that immediately on the Death of his Father, being elated with the Success of his former Exploits, he entertained Thoughts of conquering the World, and immediately upon ‡ his being grown Man, began to prepare for his Expedition. In order to it he first divided the whole Land of *Egypt* into thirty six Provinces or *Nomi*, and over each of these he placed a Governor, to take Care of his Revenues, and

* P. 98.

† Το δὲ πατρὸς τελευτησάντος, διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ ταῖς περιγεγραμμέναις περιέειπε μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπέβαλε τὴν οἰκουμένην κατακλίσασθαι. L. i. p. 49.

‡ Αὐτὸν δ' ἀνδρωθέντα — κατανεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν περὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην στρατείαν. Id. ibid.

administer

administer the Affairs of it during his Absence ; and did not make this Division after his Return, as Sir *I.* places it. At the same time he gave Commissions to others of those who had been educated with him to raise an Army suitable to the Largeness of his Design, and made them Commanders and Captains over his Forces to the Number of 1700, and assigned them the most fertile Fields of *Egypt* for their Support. Allowing therefore *Sesostris* to be thirty Years of Age, when he sat out on his Expedition, and that he reigned, according to Sir *Iaac*, forty five Years, this will carry us to the twentieth of *Asa*. * Sir *I. Marsham* interprets *Diodorus*, who says, he reigned but thirty three Years, as meaning thirty three Years after his Return from this Expedition, which will bring us to the eighteenth of *Asa*. And this will make *Diodorus* his Account better agree with that of other Authors. But it is evident that *Judea* was a free Country from the Beginning of *Asa's* Reign, and therefore could not be subject to any King of *Egypt* ; and that therefore *Sosostris* could not be the Scripture *Sesac*, because he must have been Lord of *Judea* for the first eighteen or twenty Years of *Asa's* Reign.

In the fourteenth or fifteenth Year of *Asa* we read, † that there came out against *Judah*, *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* with an Host of 1,000,000 of Men and 300 Chariots. His Army was composed of *Ethiopians* and *Lubims*, an Army superior to

* P. 402.

† Chron. xiv. 9. xxi. 16.

that by which *Sesoftris* conquered the World, which amounted to no more than 620,000. According to the above Calculation, this also must have happened in the latter Part of *Sesoftris* his Reign. *Zerab* is expressly called an *Ethiopian*, הכוש, a *Cushite*. Sir *I. Marsham* calls him, *Rex Cush, Arabiæ, King of Arabia*. But considering his Army is said to consist of the *Lubim* or *Libyans* as well as of the *Cushites*, it is most probable he was properly an *Ethiopian* Prince; the *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians* and *Libyans* being contiguous Nations, and having joined together before this in the Invasion of *Judea* under *Sesac*. But whether *Ethiopians*, or *Arabians*, they could not be now subject to an *Egyptian* Prince, and therefore there was no *Egyptian* Empire subsisting at this Time. If Sir *I. Marsham*'s Scheme be right, who makes *Zerab* an *Arabian*, and *Sesoftris* to reign thirty three Years after his return from his *Asiatick* Expedition, this Invasion of *Zerab* must have been in *Sesoftris* his Life. Nor hath that learned Writer attempted to account for this Difficulty, how an *Arabian* Prince in the Life of *Sesoftris* should raise so numerous an Army, when it is certain from *Diodorus*, that *Arabia* was one Part of his Conquests and Dominion. Sir *I. Newton* saw the Difficulty, and hath by many Suppositions, without the least Intimation from History, and with an acknowledged Suspicion of the Truth of them, endeavoured to

solve it. *I seem to gather, says he *, that Osiris*
(or Sesostris or Sefac) was slain in the fifth Year
of Afa, and thereupon Egypt fell into Civil Wars,
being invaded by the Libyans and defended by the
Ethiopians for a Time ; and after ten Years more
being invaded by the Ethiopians, who slew Orus
the Son of Osiris and seized his Kingdom. Then
the Ethiopians became free, and Lords of Egypt
under Zera. Suppositions will do great Things,
 and form excellent Schemes. But the death of
Osiris or Sesostris by his Brother, and just at
 this Instant, to solve what would otherwise ap-
 pear a very great Objection, the Civil Wars of
Egypt, the Ethiopians defending it, and then
 presently conquering it, and the Death of *Se-*
sostris his Son, are meer Hypotheses, that have
 no Claim to historical Testimony. *Herodotus*
 and *Diodorus* make no Mention of the Murther
 of *Sesostris* by his Brother, nor of the Civil
 Wars that ensued under his Son and Successor,
 nor of his being drowned by the *Ethiopians*, nor
 of their defending and invading *Egypt*. *Ma-*
netbo as cited by *Syncellus* †, makes the Poste-
 rity of *Sesostris* to have succeeded him to the
 Number of Forty Three, and to have reigned
 253 Years. I think therefore a Scheme that
 needs so many ungrounded Suppositions to re-
 concile and support it, can carry but little
 Credit and Authority with it. If *Sefac* was not
 the great *Sesostris*, and there was no *Egyptian*

* Chron. p. 236.

† Chron. p. 69.

Empire at this Time, comprehending *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, and *Asia*, *Zera's* Invasion may be easily accounted for. The *Egyptians* had several *Ethiopian* Princes, and if *Zerah* was properly an *Ethiopian*, he might be at this Time King of *Egypt*; for his Way from *Ethiopia* lay through *Egypt*; and the History tells us he came to *Maresba*, and that *Asa* beat him there, and persued him to *Gerar*, a City between *Egypt* and *Judea*. But it is possible after all, that *Zerah* might be, though an *Ethiopian*, only the General of the Scripture *Sesac*, sent by him to reduce the *Jews* to their former Obedience, who soon after *Sesac's* return to *Egypt* had shook off their Dependence, and had grown prosperous and rich under *Asa*; reason enough to the *Egyptian* for invading them, as the Riches left by *Solomon* seem to have been the principal Motive of his former Expedition against *Jerusalem*.

Sir *I. Newton* doth not seem to me quite consistent in his Account of the *Ethiopians*. For in * one Place he tells us, that *Sesostris* invaded *Ethiopia* and conquered it; and yet a little after he tells us †, that *the Thebans and Ethiopians, in the Days of Samuel, David, Solomon, and Rehoboam conquered Egypt, and the Nations round about, and erected a great Empire*. He makes *Sesostris* contemporary with *Rehoboam*, and to have erected a great Empire in his Reign; and if the *Ethiopians* then also conquered *Egypt*, and erected a great Empire too, then the *Ethi-*

* P. 214.

† p. 226.

opians must have conquered *Egypt* at the same Time that *Sesostris* conquered the *Ethiopians*, the great Empire of both being contemporary, and each Lords of, and subject to the others. But besides this Empire of *Sesostris*, it doth not appear, that there was ever any great *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian* Empire raised, and how long this continued is uncertain. Sir *Iaac* puts an End to the *Egyptian* Empire in the Death of *Sesostris* himself, after which he says *, *Egypt fell into Civil Wars and was invaded by the Libyans; and that ten Years after the Ethiopians became Lords of Egypt, under Zerah, and that his Son † Amenophis or Memnon reigned over all Egypt, built a Palace at Abidus, and the Memnonia at Susa in Persia; and that his Son Ramses or Rameesses had an Army of 700,000 Men, and reigned over Lybia, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, Scythia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Bythinia and Syria, who was a very long lived King; thus making the Egyptian Empire under Sesostris to be continued by the Ethiopians under Zerah and Amenophis his Son. With Sir I. N. agrees Sir John Marsham ‡, in the Extent and Continuance of this Empire; but differs with him as to the Order and Original of the Princes; telling us from Manetho, that Sesostris was succeeded by his eldest Son Rbampses, who reigned sixty six Years, who held tributary all his Father's Conquests; and that || after him succeeded Amenophis or Memnon, who also reigned a long*

* P. 236. † p. 247. 248. ‡ p. 416. || p. 423.

Course of Years, went to *Susa* in *Persia*, reduced the *Bactrians*, and triumphed over *Asia* when he had settled it, and thus re-established the Empire of *Sesostris*. But both these learned Men must certainly be mistaken as to the Time of these Princes and their Empire. For this will carry us through the Reigns of *Jehosaphat*, *Jehoram*, *Abaziah*, and *Joash* Kings of *Judah*. But during the Time of all these Princes, though we read of the Invasions of the *Amorites*, *Moabites*, *Philistines*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and others, yet we have not one Word of any *Egyptian* Expedition into *Judæa* and *Phenicia*, though the Kings of *Egypt* must have passed through it in their Way to *Asia*, and can never be supposed to have been the Conquerors of *Asia*, and at the same Time not Lords of *Judea*, without being Masters of which they could neither have conquered, nor kept *Asia* in Subjection. The History and Circumstances of these Times most certainly render the Supposition of any such *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian* Empire absolutely incredible. *Sesostris* is supposed by Sir *Isaac* to be killed in the Fifth of *Asa*; reckon the Remainder of *Asa*'s Reign, thirty six Years, and *Jehosaphat*'s twenty five, in all sixty one; which both together will not amount to the length of *Rameesses* single Reign, whose Empire extended over all *Asia*. And yet during *Jehosaphat*'s Reign we are expressly told, that

* *be placed Forces in all the fenced Cities, and set*

* Chron. xvii. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, &c.

*Garrisons in the Land of Judah, and in the Cities of Ephraim; and the Fear of the Lord fell upon all the Kingdoms of the Lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no War against Jehosaphat. He built Castles and Cities of Store. The Philistines and Arabians were tributary to him. His Soldiers, that waited on him were 960,000 Men, besides those who were in Garrison. Can there be more evident Marks of a free Kingdom; or can these Circumstances be consistent with their being tributary to the Egyptian Empire? The several Invasions of the Ammonites, Moabites, Philistines, and Idumeans, all of them States bordering upon Egypt, shew they were now independent, and had no Superior to controul them. The Syrian Kingdom was now arisen to a great Height. Asa * was in league with Benbadad, who sent his Captains and took and destroyed several of the Cities of the Kingdom of Israel. In the † Reign of Jehosaphat, Benbadad had thirty two Kings in his Camp, that were his Tributaries, and in his Army above 127,000 Men, and his Message to Abab looks like that of a Sovereign Prince, who had no Superiour to controul him: Thy Silver and thy Gold is mine; thy Wives also and thy Children, even the goodliest are mine. Nay if Demonstration and expresse Testimony be demanded, to prove that there was no Egyptian Empire at this Time in Asia, it may certainly be found: For during the Reign of Benbadad,*

* 2 Chron. xvi. 2. &c. † 1 Kings. xx. 1. 2. 3.

who was Contemporary with *Asa* and *Jehoshaphat*, and with the immediate Son and Successor of *Sesoftris*, as Sir *John Marsham* supposes, or with *Amenophis* or *Memnon* according to Sir *Isaac*, we have this remarkable Passage; That the *Syrians* besieging *Samaria*, raised the Siege, upon a Supposition that the King of *Israel* had hired the Kings of the *Hittites* and the Kings of the *Egyptians* to come out against them: * *They said one to another, Lo, the King of Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites, and the Kings of the Egyptians to come upon us.* A Demonstration, if there can be one, in an Affair of this Nature, that the *Israelites*, *Hittites* and *Syrians* were all at this Time independent on *Egypt*, and that the *Syrians* looked on the *Egyptians*, not as Lords of the *Israelites*, but as their Auxiliaries only, and hired with Money to their Assistance.

It is, I think, plain from these Observations, and many other Arguments that I intend to mention elsewhere, that there was no great *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian* Empire, that arose about *Solomon's* Reign, and continued under *Sesac* and his Successors, and that made all *Asia* tributary to it. And it is worthy our Observation, that after this Invasion of the *Jews* by *Sesac*, in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam*, we read nothing more of the *Egyptians* in the Sacred History, as having any the least Concern with *Judea*, till the Time of *Josiah*, several Ages after; though we

* 2 Kings vii. 6.

are informed of many other Invasions from all the neighbouring Countries and Kingdoms around it ; and though the *Egyptians* must have frequently passed through it, as their readiest Way to their *Asiatick* Conquests, and though *Tacitus* tells us, from the Inscription of the ancient *Theban* Obelisk, that the *Syrians* were amongst their conquered Nations ; a Circumstance itself sufficient to destroy this Imagination of any great *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian* Empire, during this Interval. And indeed the whole History of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, and the neighbouring Nations contiguous to *Egypt*, as delivered by the Sacred Historian, will I think make the Supposition incredible to any careful and impartial Reader.

But there is one Observation I cannot help making from the whole. That *Sesostris* was a great and successful Warrior, and conquered *Asia*, and that his Successor *Rameffes* succeeded to his Power and Empire, cannot be well doubted. There is the concurrent Testimony of all antiquity as to *Sesostris*, and *Herodotus* saw some of the very Pillars he erected to perpetuate his Fame and Victories. And as to *Rameffes* *, upon an Obelisk erected by this King in *Heliopolis*, and sent to *Rome* by the Emperor *Constantius*, were several Inscriptions, interpreted by *Hermapion* an *Egyptian* Priest, signifying his being Lord of the whole Earth, and King of *Egypt*, and that the Gods had given him a long Life.

* Ammian. Mar. l. 17. c. 4.

Strabo * himself saw above the *Memnonium* at *Thebes* in the Royal Sepulchres, Inscriptions upon certain Obelisks, expressing the Riches of their former Princes, and that their Dominions extended to the *Scythians* and *Bactrians* and *Indians* and *Ionians*. *Tacitus* † assures us, that when *Cæsar Germanicus* visited the Ruins of *Thebes*, he saw an Inscription in the *Egyptian* Letters on an Obelisk, which being interpreted by one of the *Egyptian* Priests signified, that King *Rhamses* had an Army of 700,000 Men, that he reigned over *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Bactrians* and *Scythians*, the *Syrians*, *Armenians* and *Cappadocians*, the *Bythinians* and *Lycians*. These Inscriptions on the Obelisks may pass for sufficient Proof of the Extent of the ancient *Egyptian* Empire; and the *Memnonium*, at *Susa* in *Persia*, said to be built by *Tithonus*, *Memnon's* Father, or the Royal Palace there bearing *Memnon's* Name mentioned by ‡ *Herodotus*, || *Diodorus*, and § *Strabo*, may

* Τὰς δὲ τῶν Μεννονείων θύκας βασιλεῶν — ἐν δὲ ταῖς θύκαις ἐπὶ πύλων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγεῖσθαι δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλεον τῶν τότε βασιλεῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐπικρασίαν ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν καὶ Βακτριῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διατεινῆσαν, καὶ φορῶν πλεον καὶ Σεβασίας πλεον ἐκείνων μυριάδων. Lib. 17. p. 1171.

† Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia, et manebant structis molibus Literæ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ; jussusque e senioribus Sacerdotum patrium Sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septuaginta millia ætate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya, Æthiopia, Mediisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythia potitum, quasque terras Suri, Armenique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. *Annal.* l. 2. cap. 60.

‡ Lib. 5. c. 53. || Lib. 2. p. 109. § Lib. 15. p. 1058.

be

be looked on as a confirmation of it. And from hence I would infer, that if this great *Egyptian* Empire is not to be found in any of the Times after *Sesac*, and is inconsistent with the known Circumstances of them ; it must be looked for and placed in some Period preceding *Sesac's* Reign, where all ancient Writers have placed it, and where alone I think it is possible to find it.

I had almost forgot to take notice of an Argument urged by Sir *Isaac* out of Scripture, to prove *Sesostris* to be the Scripture *Sesac*. *Sesac* and *Sesostris*, says he, * agree not only in the Time, but also in their Actions and Conquests. God gives *Sesac* מַמְלָכוֹת הָאֲרָצוֹת *the Kingdoms of the Lands*; and in another Place: *He went on conquering, first Eastward towards India, which he invaded, and then Westward as far as Thrace; for God had given him the Kingdoms of the Countries*; quoting in both Places 2 Chron. xii. and in the last Place, the Verses 2, 3, 8. I was much disappointed when I came to search for this remarkable Passage in the *Chronicles*, which would have been greatly to his Purpose, because I could not find it; the Place he refers to at Ver. 8th being quite of another Nature, without the least Intimation of the Proof for which he produces it. The Words are: *Nevertheless they shall be his, Sesac's Servants, that they may know my Service, and the Service* מַמְלָכָה הָאֲרָצוֹת

* P. 68.

† p. 2. 17.

of the Kingdoms of the Countries. Josephus * hath given the true Interpretation of this Passage: God, says he, told the Jews by the Prophet, that they should become subject to the Egyptians, that they might learn, which was the more easy, to serve God or Man; or that they might understand the Difference between being the Subjects of God, and Vassals to the Kingdoms of the Countries round them. How it can be inferred from hence, that God gave Sefac these Kingdoms of the Countries, is beyond my Comprehension. If during the Reign of Sefac, Judea was in subjection to him, he certainly very badly protected it, and gave it Liberties, which Conquerors seldom care to do; allowing the Princes of that Country, which bordered on his own, to bring into the Field at once 1,200,000 Men, which joined together would have been sufficient for the Conquest of all Egypt. Besides, the Sacred Historian takes notice †, that Israel, i. e. the Kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam, as distinguished from the Kingdom of Rehoboam, was for a long Season without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without the Law. And in those Times, there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, i. e. no safety in travelling, but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countries; or great Disturbances

* Παινηταιν μεντοιχα τοις Αιγυπτιοις υποχειρις, ινα μαθωσι πο-
τερον ανδρωπα δαλσειεν εστιν αποωλεσεν η θεω. Antiq. l. 8.
c. 10. §. 3.

† 2 Chron. xv. 3, 5, 6.

and Commotions amongst all the Inhabitants of those two Kingdoms; *and Nation was destroyed of Nation, and City of City, because God did vex them with great Adversity*; relating to the perpetual Wars between this now divided People, the frequent Plunders of their Cities, as either Nation prevailed, and the mutual Slaughters of their Inhabitants; Circumstances that are the strongest Proof of their intire Freedom from the Controul of *Egypt*, and of the full Liberty of their Princes to act as they pleased without any interruption, and which therefore I apprehend destroy the Notion of *Sesac's* being the Conqueror and Lord of *Asia*, or the same with *Sesostris* the real Conqueror of the *Eastern* World. And from hence it appears how groundless the Philosopher's Assertion is, that *after the great Egyptian Empire, which arose about Solomon's Time, the Egyptians spread and propagated Superstition to all their conquered Nations*. The Philosopher was incapable of offering any Proof of the Fact, and therefore contented himself with a mere dogmatical Assertion of it.

S E C T. XV.

SUPERSTITION of *Lay Invention and Original.*

ALthough the moral Philosopher served many Years of his Life in the Office and Capacity of a *Priest*, and received by imposition of Hands *the indelible Character*, yet after he had *truly desecrated* himself, and taken the Name of a Philosopher, he immediately set himself

himself to vilify the whole Priesthood in general, ancient and Modern ; and without Manners and Compassion represents them under all the odious Characters that his Invention and Malice could suggest. I have ever imagined that the slandering whole Bodies of Men, and imputing to all in general the Crimes with which some, or many of them may be chargeable, is a very iniquitous Conduct, and inconsistent with all Principles of Morality, and common Honesty. The Priests and Clergy have been many of them bad. But have the Laity as a *Body* been less criminal ? If *the Prophets have prophesied falsely, and the Priests have born Rule by their Means*, hath not *the People loved to have it so* ? Have not their Stupidity and Vices been the very Rise of the exorbitant Power and extravagant Claims of the Hierarchy ? Have not Impieties and Immoralities of all kinds been practiced, at least with as much Freedom, by the Former as the Latter ?

Amongst other Causes of the Corruptions of Mankind, it is allowed that *Superstition* hath been one, and no inconsiderable one. But hath this been wholly owing to *Priestcraft*, hath there been nothing of *Lay Subtilty* and Fraud in the Invention and Introduction of it ? The Man knows nothing of History and human Nature that will assert this, and the Records of all Nations and Ages are a Demonstration of the contrary. *Egypt* was famous for her Improvements in this Science, and carried it to the greatest Heighth ;
and

and our Philosopher with his usual Modesty roundly asserts, that Joseph's * *investing the Priests with a vast Property in Lands, independent of the Crown, gave them an Opportunity and Power to work up the People into the highest and grossest Degrees of Superstition, and that keeping their natural Experiments, their Chimistry, their natural Magick, and occult experimental Philosophy as deep Secrets and Sacred Mysteries to themselves, they made it all pass with the ignorant enslaved Vulgar, for Miracles, Revelation, Prophecy, and immediate divine Power ; and thus Egypt became the Mother and Nurse of Superstition ;* hereby imputing all the Superstitions of Egypt to the Craft and Contrivance of the Priests. But all this is philosophical Invention and Guess, contrary to History and Fact ; and it will be certainly found, that the *Egyptian* Superstitions have the Honour, most of them, of *Lay Original*, and that whatever Improvements the Priests made in them, it was upon the Foundation and Plan that the Laity had kindly and generously prepared for them.

The *Egyptian* Idolatry may be divided into three Parts, the Worship of the heavenly Bodies, of dead Men, and of their sacred Beasts. The Worship of the heavenly Bodies was unquestionably the most ancient, and took Place even before the Institution of any separate and distinct Priesthood whatsoever ; and had its Rise, not from any sacerdotal Contrivance and Craft, but from an almost universal Opinion that obtained

* V. III. p. 21. 22.

amongst Mankind, in favour of their divine Powers and Influences. Natural and easy as the Belief of one eternal and invifible, all-perfect and all-dispofing Mind may feem, to Men who have been cultivated by Education, true Philofophy, and divine Revelation, yet I fee no Reason to believe that the Bulk of Mankind would eafily fall into fuch a rational and fublime Sentiment of Deity, without thefe Advantages. They are moftly affected and ftruck by fenfible Objects, and naturally fall into an Admiration of thofe Things which appear moft wonderful and glorious in the material Syftem. Hence, as *Eusebius* * obferves, beholding with their bodily Eyes the Lights of Heaven, they were feized with Admiration, proclaimed them Gods, looked on them as the Authors and Caufes of the Generation and Corruption of all Things, and honoured them with Adoration and Sacrifices. The *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* were amongst the earlieft and firft of Mankind, who fell into this Error and Superftition, which afterwards fpread itfelf throughout almoft all Nations of the Earth. And this was the moft natural and obvious Kind of Idolatry that could obtain amongst Mankind, and into which they fell by an univerfal Approbation and Consent. Thefe were the Gods of the moft ancient *Greeks*,

* Οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆςδε μὲν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἀποπί-
 σσιντες εὐσεβείας, τὰ φωσφορὰ τῶν ἑραινῶν, Ἰσάρκος οὐρανίου, οἱ αὖ
 νηπιοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, καταπλάγαντες, θεὸς τε ἀνέειπεν, καὶ θυγαῖς καὶ
 πατρὸς κληνῆσιν ἐρχομένων. De Præp. Evan. p. 17. Μόνας τε
 εἶναι τῆς τῶν ὁλῶν γενέσεως τε καὶ φθορᾶς αἰτίας. Id. ibid.

as well as *Barbarians*, as *Plato* † expressly affirms, and the only Gods they originally worshipped. And the Worship they at first paid them was plain and simple, such as needed no Intervention or Mediation of Priests, they * built no Temples in honour of them, they made no Statues and Images of them that had any Resemblance of mortal Beings; but when they beheld them, contented themselves either with the inward Veneration of them, or with some plain and easy Action expressive of that internal Homage they paid them. When they ‡ *beheld the Sun shining in its Glory, and the Moon walking in her Brightness, their Hearts were secretly inticed, and their Mouth kissed their Hand* in token of Adoration.

In these earlier Times there seems to have been no distinct Order of Priests, either amongst the Worshippers of the true God, or many of those who adored the Host of Heaven as Gods. The Heads of Families were Priests in their own Houses, and offered their Sacrifices with their own Hands. *Job sanctified his Children and offered Burnt-Offerings for them according to their Number.* The Hebrew Patriarchs acted in the same manner, and the King of Salem was

† Φαίνεται μοι οἱ παρτοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰς μὲν θεὸς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢ ἢ ὁ σελήνην καὶ τὴν καὶ ἀστὲρ καὶ ὕδατον. Cratyl. p. 397.

* Οὐ νέως δειμαμένοι, καὶ ἀφιδρυμασι καὶ ζοανοῖς θνητῶν εἰκόνας πλάσσαντες, πρὸς αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ὕδατον ἀποβλεπόντες, καὶ μετὰ τῶν τῆς οὐρανόθεν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐφικνούμενοι. Euseb. p. 17.

‡ Job xxxi. 26. 27.

Priest also of the most high God ; and the first Worship that was paid to the heavenly Bodies seems to have been principally a Kind of inward Veneration, expressed by kissing their Hand in Honour of them, and Sacrifices to have been offered only on some very solemn and special Occasions. The *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* appear to have been the first who enlarged and altered this original Worship, and to have constituted a distinct and separate Order of Priests to perform their Sacred Rites and Ceremonies. And this they did, as hath been shewn, from the earliest Times of their Constitution and Government. So that there are no Appearances of Priestcraft in this *original Superstition* ; which took its Rise from the natural Weakness of human Minds, confining their Contemplations to material and visible Objects ; and from the constant Effects which they saw, or imagined to be produced by the Influence of the Sun and Moon and Stars ; easily persuading themselves that the Causes of them must be real Deities, and as such preside over the World, and manage all things by their perpetual Influences and Power.

The Origin of the Priesthood, as a distinct Order, set apart from others to be solely employed in the Ceremonies of Religion amongst the *Heathens*, arose I doubt not from the Deification of dead Men, and the Superstitions appointed in Honour of them. There was so natural a Prepossession in Favour of the heavenly

Luminaries, as that there needed no Art to keep up any Reverence for them, * and the Regularity and Constancy of their Motions, and the perpetual Benefits they were imagined to be the great Causes of, were sufficient to secure the high Veneration paid them. But the Worship of dead Men was a Superstition not quite so natural, and that needed more Art to propagate and establish. In order to this, these two Methods were early invented; the one, the translating the Souls of dead Men into some of the heavenly Bodies, making them preside over particular deified Powers of Nature, and giving them the same Name with the Stars into which they transplanted them, and the Elements and Powers of Nature over which they placed them, or † giving the Names of their Kings to them; that thus the Worship paid to the one might also affect the other, and be perpetuated along with it. Thus ‡ *Diodorus* :

* Πρώτον γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι θεοὺς ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι, ὥς εὐρὴν ἀδιαπ-
 ῥωτὸς φερεμένης αἰπὴς, αὐτοὺς νομοῦντες εἶναι τῶν τε ἀερόθ' ἀετ-
 ῶν, καὶ τῆς σαφείας τῶν ὁλῶν. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 1.
 p. 141. Edit. Amstel.

† Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλείων τοῖς κοσμι-
 καῖς στοιχείοις, καὶ πᾶσι τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐπέθεσαν
 φυσικῶς. Cyril. cont. Julian. p. 205. Edit. Span.

‡ Τα δὲ τέλιον μέρη περὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ πνεῦμα, καὶ
 τὸ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ υγρὸν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸ ἀερό-
 δες — τέλιον δ' ἔχουσιν θεῶν νομοῦνται, καὶ περὶ τὴν αἰὶν ἰδίαν
 ἔχουσιν θεῶν — τὸ μὲν ἐν πνεύματι διὰ προσαγγρεύσασθαι — τὸ
 δὲ πῦρ μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦν ὁνομασθῆναι — τὴν δὲ γῆν —
 μὴτερά προσαγγρεύσασθαι, καὶ τὴν ἑλλήνας δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἀκμῆς καλεῖν — τὸ δ' υγρὸν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι τὴν παλαιὰν
 Ὀκεανὸν — τὸν δ' ἀεὶ προσαγγρεύσασθαι φασὶν Ἀθηνᾶν — Ἀλλὰ
 δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγῶν γενέσθαι φασὶν — πᾶσι μὲν ὀνομασθῆναι ὑπαρ-
 χῶν τοῖς στοιχείοις. Diodor. l. 1. p. 11. 12.

Some of these mortal Men obtained the same Name with the heavenly Gods. *Sol* was the Name of one of the *Egyptian* Kings, so called from the Sun, and *Vulcan* another of them was the Element of Fire, *Ceres* the Earth, *Minerva* the Air, and the same might be shewn of almost all the other deified Persons worshiped by the Nations. But that which was the most effectual Method of supporting this Worship, ordered to be given to dead Men, and of perpetuating their Claims of Divinity, was the erecting magnificent Sepulchres and Temples in Honour of them, appointing Persons whose Office it should peculiarly be, to preside over and perform the sacred Ceremonies prescribed in their Adoration, and making it their Interest, by large Endowments and Emoluments, to maintain the Dignity and Credit of them. This was a sure Way to *immortalize* them, and to transmit their Worship to the latest Posterity. And of all these Evils we shall find *Lay Impiety*, Pride and Superstition to have been the true Sources.

We have seen already, that *Ham* and his Posterity assumed the Name of *Elohim* or Gods. *Osiris* * his Son deified him after his Death,

* Ἰδρυταδαὶ δὲ [Ὀσίειν] καὶ ἱερεῖν τῶν γονεῶν Διὸς τε Ἡρᾶς ἀξιολογεῖν τῷ τε μεγάρῳ, ἰ. μεγάρῳ, καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ πολυτελείᾳ, καὶ ναὺς χρυσεὺς δύο Διὸς, τὴν μὲν μείζονα τε κρηνικῆ, τὸν δὲ ἐλαττοῖνα τε βεβασιλευκόῃ, καὶ παρὰ αὐτῶν, ἰ. αὐτῶν, οὐ πνὺς Ἀμμωνὰ καλεσι' ἀλάσκειν αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν περισημῶν ναὺς χρυσεὺς, ὧν ἐκαστῷ τιμὰς ἀπονεμαί, καὶ ἀλάσκειν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεσθῆναι ἱερεῖς. Id. ibid. p. 14.

built Temples and made golden Shrines in honour of him, appointed the religious Ceremonies with which he was to be worshipped, and appointed Priests, whose Care and Business it should be to perform them; and when *Osiris* was dead, * *Isis* his Queen consecrated him in his turn, and gave the Priests the third Part of the Lands of *Egypt* to maintain and propagate the Superstitions decreed him. *Thoth* or *Mercury* his Secretary invented many mysterious Rights that were to be observed in his Worship, to render it the more solemn and venerable. *Menes* † their first King after the Gods, is said to have taught the People the Worship of those Gods, and to perform Sacrifices to them. *Bu-siris* and his Successors built sumptuous Temples, and magnificently adorned them. *Sesostris* ‡ enriched them with the Spoils of his Victories, and in all the Cities of *Egypt* built a Temple to that God, which the Inhabitants of each particularly worshipped. Hero Gods, Worship, Temples and Priests, are all of Lay Original and Propagation amongst the *Egyptians*, and could not in the Nature of the Thing have been introduced or established but by the Civil Authority. The Pride of Princes, who were the Founders of Kingdoms, grafted upon the Respect of the People, to whom they had been Benefactors, was the true Original of these Im-

* Id. *ibid.* p. 18.

† P. 42.

‡ Απο θεων αρξαμενθ, ωκεδουμεν εν πασαις ταις κατ' Αιγυπτον πολεσιν ιερον θεο τε μαλιστα παρ' εκαστοις τιμωμεν. Id. *ibid.* p. 50.

pieties ; whilst the Priests were only introduced as Auxiliaries to support what the other began, and carry on the Superstitions they invented.

With this Deification of dead Men came in all the more stupid Worship paid to Pictures, Images and Idols. The heavenly Bodies and Elements of Nature could not be represented by any particular Forms, and needed no such Representations, being ever to be perceived by the bodily Senses. But the Portraits of dead Men were capable of being drawn, and * the representing them by Pictures and Images was a natural Method of keeping up the Remembrance of them, when they themselves could be no longer visible to the bodily Eye. Hence Pictures and Images were introduced into their Temples, Offerings made to them, and Adoration paid before them, as † Symbols and Representatives of the Gods themselves, and in which certain divine Powers were supposed to be perpetually ‡ resident, by the Indwelling or Influences of those whom they were made to represent. But

* Deinde ipsi reges, cum chari fuissent iis, quorum vitam composuerant, magnum sui desiderium reliquerunt. Itaque homines eorum simulachra finxerunt, ut haberent aliquod ex imaginum contemplatione solatium ; progressique longius per amorem meriti, memoriarum defunctorum colere ceperunt, ut et gratiam referre bene meritis viderentur, et successores eorum allicerent ad bene imperandi cupiditatem. Lactan. de fal. Relig. Lib. 1. c. 15.

† Ἀγαλμαῖα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ πυρθεῖα σβεστὶ φυλακὴν, καὶ πανταπλῶς ταῦτα, συμβόλα οἱ πατέρες ἐδένον τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν. Julian. p. 293.

‡ Eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulachris. Arnob. l. 6. p. 203. Edit. Lug. Bat.

this exquisite Contrivance was also of Lay Original. Various * Writers ascribe the first Original of them to different Persons. Some to *Telchines* the *Rhodian*, some to the *Tuscans*, others to *Cadmus*, others to *Armodius* and *Aristegiton*, and others to the Kings and Princes of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* tells us †, that *Osiris* introduced these Images of his deified Gods into *Egypt*. *Thoth* ‡ or *Mercury* drew the Images of *Saturn*, *Dagon*, and the rest of the Gods, and invented the symbolical Representations of them. || *In process of Time, an ungodly Custom grown strong, was kept as a Law, and graven Images were worshipped by the Commandments of Kings*. They owe their original, partly to the Pride of Princes, to perpetuate themselves, and the Honours they were fond of whilst living and after Death, partly to the Flattery of Courtiers, partly to Affection and Gratitude, and partly to State Policy, that by these Monuments others might be encouraged and excited to publick Usefulness and Merit, and to keep § the People in awe, by an imaginary Presence of the Gods with them.

Yea

* Gyrald. Syn. p. 476. † L. i. p. 14.

‡ Περὶ θεῶν τεττων θεῶν Ταυτίου μιμησάμενοι τον Ουρανιον, των θεων οφεις, Κρονε τε καὶ Δαδων καὶ των λοιπων διευπασαν της ιερης των ποιχων χαδακτηρας. Sanchon. apud Euseb. Præp. E. p. 39.

|| Wisd. of Sol. xiv. 16.

§ Melius Græci atque nostri, qui ut augerent pietatem in Deos, eadem illos, quæ nos, urbes incolere voluerunt. Afferit enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2.

c. 11. Δοκεσι δὴ μοι καὶ οἱ νομοθετας, καθάπερ νυν παιδων ἀγαλλη,

Yea, the very meanest and vilest of the *Egyptian* Superstitions, their Worship of their Beasts, appears to have been the Appointment of Lay Wisdom, and the Reasons of those Appointments are yet preserved, not much to the Credit of those who ordained them. One Reason assigned for it is their Utility. Thus * the sacred Bulls of *Egypt*, *Apis* and *Mnevis*, were worshipped as Gods, at the Command of *Osiris*, because of their Use in Agriculture, and that the Glory of those who first taught the Method of raising the Fruits of the Earth, might, for their Benefactions on these Accounts, be delivered down to Posterity through all succeeding Ages. *Menas* †, one of their most ancient Kings, out of Gratitude for a Favour he had received from a certain Crocodile, is said to have built a City, and called it *Crocodile*, and to have ordered the People of the Place to worship those Beasts as Gods, and to have consecrated the Lake, in which this same Crocodile was, for their Maintenance and Habitation.

αγλην, εξευρειν τοις ανθρωποις τεπ τα αγαλαματα, σημεια της
 προς το θεον τιμης, κ' ωσπερ χειραγωγιαν τινα κ' οδον προς
 αναμνησιν. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 8. p. 81. Edit. J. Ward. Ad
 incutiendas formidines vulgo Deorum instituta simulacra. Arnob.
 cont. 4. Gent. l. 6. p. 208. 209.

* Τους δε ταυρους τους ιερευς, λεγων δε τον τε Απιν κ' Μνευιν,
 τιμασθαι ὡς ἀπλησιως τοις θεοις, Οσιριδ' ὅτι καλὰ δειξάν' ὅτι ἀμὰ
 μὲν διὰ τὴν τῆς γεωργίας χρειαζν, ἀμὰ δὲ κ' διὰ τὸ τῶν ευροβίων τῆς
 καρπῆς τὴν δόξαν ταις τειῶν ευεργασίαις ὡς ἀδιδόσιμον γέγονεν αὖ
 τοις μετὰ γενέσεσσι εἰς ἀπάντηα τὸν αἰῶνα. Diodor. l. 1. p. 79.

† Diodor. l. 1. p. 80.

The Worship of Beasts in general in *Egypt* is accounted for by several ancient Authors in such a Manner, as shews it to have been, in their Opinion, the Effect of Lay Craft, and Kingly Policy: *Isocrates* * ascribes the Origin of it to *Busiris*, and tells us, that he ordained the Worship of them, not being ignorant of their Nature and Properties, but as thinking he had a Right to habituate the Multitude constantly to obey what was commanded them by their Governors, and withal to make a Trial by these outward Actions what were their inward Sentiments; for he thought that those who disobeyed such Commands, would probably be disobedient in greater Things; but that such who were disposed to a constant Observance of their Duty in their Rank and Station, would confirm it by shewing their Piety in these Instances. *Diodorus* † tells us,

* Πολλας γαρ αυλεις ἡ πανδοαπας ασκησεις της θειοτητος εκεινους κατεστησεν· οσις ἡ των ζωνων των παρ' ημιν καταφρονημενων, εστιν α σεβειναι ἡ τιμαν ενομοθετησεν, εκ αγνων την δυναμιν αυλων, αλλα' αμα μεν εδιζεν οιομηνους δειν τον οχλον απασιν εμμενην τοις υπο των αρχωνων παρ' αυτων γελλομενοις, αμα δε βελομενους παρειαν λαμβανειν τοις φανεροις, ηνινα παρ' των αφανων διανοιαν εχουσι. Ενομιζε γαρ τας μεν τετων ολιγωρευοντας, τυχον αν ἡ των μεζονων καταφρονησεν· τας δ' επι παντων ομοιως εμμενοντας τη ταξει, βεβαιωσιναι την αυλων ευσεβειαν επιδιδεγμενες. *Busir. Laudat.* p. 226.

† Επι των παλαιων βασιλεων, πολλακις αφισταμενε τε πληθους, ἡ συμφρονηντος κατ' αυτων των ηγεμενων, των βασιλεων τινας συνεσει διαφρονητας διελεσθαι μεν την χωραν εις πλειω μερη, καθ' εκαστον δε αυλων καταδιδειναι τοις εγχωριοις σεβειναι τι ζων, η τροφης τινους μη γευσειναι, οπως εκαστων το μεν παρ' αυλοις τιμωμενον σεβομενων, των δε παρ' τοις αλλοις αφιστρωμενων καταφρονητων, μηδεποτε ομορονησαι δυνασθαι παντες οι κατ' Αιγυπτον. Και τετο εκ των αποτελεσματων φανερον ειναι. Παντας γαρ τους πλησιον χωρας προς αλληλους διαφρονητας, προς κοπτοντας ταις εις τα φρονηματα παρ' αυτοις. L. i. p. 80.

that

that under the ancient Kings, the common People of *Egypt* were greatly liable to Revolts, and to conspire against their Governours; and that therefore one of their wisest Kings divided their whole Country into several Parts or Districts, and that in each of these he ordered the Inhabitants to worship some one Animal, or to abstain from one particular Kind of Food, that each worshipping the Beast they had consecrated, and despising what had been deified by others, the Inhabitants of *Egypt* might never be able to unite. And that this is plain from the Effects; for all the neighbouring Inhabitants are at variance with each other, and offend one another by their Transgressions in the aforesaid Particulars. *Plutarch* * gives the same Account in the main, though differing in some Particulars. He tells us, that some Authors affirm, that one of their wisest and most subtle Princes, understanding the Levity of the Disposition of the *Egyptians*, and that they were very prone to Innovation and Change, and that their

* Άλλοι δε τωνδε των δεινων τινα κ' πανερῶν βασιλεων ισχυρσι, της Αιγυπτιας καταμαδοντα τη μεν φύσει κερως, κ' προς μέγιστον κ' νεώτεριστον οξύροπας οντας, αμαχον δε κ' δυσκατεκλινον υπο πληθους δυναμιν εν τω σωφρονειν κ' κοινοπραγειν εχοντας, αιδιον αυτοις εν καλίστορα δεξαντα δεισιδαιμονιαν, διαφορας απαντα περιπασι. Των γαρ θηριων, α προςεβλεπεν αλλοις αλλα τιμαν κ' σεβεσθαι, δυσμενως κ' πολεμικως αλληλοις περισφραγιστων, κ' τροφην ελεσθαι ελεως προσιεσθαι πεφυκοτας, αμυνοντας αι τοις οικειοις εκαστι, κ' χαλεπως αδικημενοι φεροντες, ελανθανον ταις των θηριων εχθραϊς συνελκομενοι κ' συνεκπολεμικημενοι προς αλλ. ληλους. Postrema fere verba corrupta, quæ sic legenda putarem: κ' τροφην ελεσθαι ελεως προσιεσθαι πεφυκοτα, αμυνοντες αι κ. τ. λ. De If. et Osir. p. 380.

Number being very large, their Power was unconquerable, and impossible to be restrained, whilst they acted soberly and in concert; dispersed them into several Districts, and appointed amongst them an eternal Superstition, in order to occasion an irreconcilable Animosity amongst them. For as the Beasts, which he commanded them severally to honour and worship, were in a natural State of Enmity and War with each other, and led by Instinct each to devour the other; the *Egyptians*, each defending their own, and not enduring to be injured on this Account, were drawn before they were aware, by these mutual Antipathies of their Beasts, into a State of War with one another. From these Accounts it appears, that the Superstitions of *Egypt* arose, at least in a great Measure, from Lay Craft, the Policies of Kings, and the Subtlety of Princes, to disunite the *Egyptians* amongst themselves, and so to secure themselves against the united Power and Force of the People. The Priests, if, what doth not appear, they had any Hand in these Things, were no more originally than *Seconds* to the Princes, taken from the Laity, and raised to their Offices, the more successfully to carry on their Designs upon the Liberties of Mankind.

I have already mentioned one more Deity, that was thought to be of great Consequence in the *Egyptian* Divinity, and that was the *Pudendum Virile*, or *Phallus*, which was afterwards adopted into the *Grecian* Mysteries. And

I now

I now add that this hath also the Honour to be of *Lay Invention*. For *Osiris* being killed by *Typho* his Brother, and his Body divided into twenty six Pieces, *Isis* after long Search found them all; the *Pudendum* only excepted. Every one of these Parts she encompassed round with a mixture of Spice and Wax, and forms it into an human Figure of the Bigness of *Osiris*, and gives them, one to each Tribe of Priests, and commands them to dedicate to each Figure one certain Beast, just as they pleased, and when it died to pay it the same Honours as they did to *Osiris*. And recollecting the many and great Obligations she was under to the Part lost, she * ordered it to be worshipped with divine Honours, and commanded an Idol or Image of it to be placed in the Temple, and adored, and in the Mysteries and Sacrifices performed in honour of *Osiris*, to pay the greatest Reverence to *this God*, and shew it the highest Veneration. And from *Egypt* the *Greeks* introduced it into their *Dionysiack Mysteries*, and paid great Adoration to this Part, under the Name of the *Phallus*.

It is no difficult Task to shew, that amongst other Nations Superstition was also of Lay Original. The first Kings and Princes of *Greece* were mostly of *Phenician* and *Egyptian* Original; such as *Cadmus*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Petes*, *Erectheus*, and many others, and brought the Super-

* Εἰδωλον αὐτὴ κατέσκευασσαν, τιμὰν καλεῖσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς τελεὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ τῷ μισθῷ ἐν τιμῇ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ πλεῖστον σεβασμὸν πύχαιεν. Diod. lib. 1. p. 19.

stitutions of their own Country and planted them in *Greece*. And that their Lawgivers and Princes might create a greater Authority to their Religions and Civil Establishments, they knew as well as any Priests could inform them, how to feign Miracles, Revelation, Prophecies, and immediate Divine Powers, pretending all their Laws were given by immediate Divine Communications. * *Minos* had his by Revelation from *Jove*, and *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Solon* the *Athenian* theirs from *Apollo*. When *Theseus* † settled the Polity and Government of the *Athenians*, he commanded them to acknowledge and Worship as Gods, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, *Mercury*, *Juno*, *Ceres*, *Minerva*, and *Diana*, and ‡ committed the Care of religious Affairs to the *Eupatridæ* or Nobles. In a Word, all || Things relating to the Sacred Rites and Sacrifices were amongst the *Greeks* under the Management, and subject to the Controul of the principal Magistrates, as they were originally introduced by their Princes and Lawgivers, and

* Εν τοις τε Διὸς λεγόμενοις νομοῖς, τοῖς τε Πυθίᾳ Ἀπολλωνῶν, οὓς Μινῶς τε καὶ Λυκουργῶ ἐδείκνυν, ἐνεστὶ τε πάντα ταῦτα. Plat. de Leg. l. i. p. 632. Diodor. Sic. p. 48.

† Καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιὸν παρ' Ἑλλήσι διαβεβημένοι θεοὶ, Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπολλων καὶ Ἥραις τε καὶ Ἑρμῆς, καὶ ἐν Σηλαῖς Ἥρα καὶ Δημήτρα καὶ Ἀθηνά καὶ Ἀρτέμις, ταῖς Θησεῖος τε ὡς αὐτοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἰσορρομῆς διατάξεσιν ἐκκείδησαν λεγέσθαι θεοὶ. Athans. cont. Gent. p. 11. Edit. Paris.

‡ Εὐπατρίδαίς μὲν γινώσκων τὰ θεῖα — ἀποδούς, καὶ νομῶν διδάσκαλος εἶναι, καὶ ὅσιων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγήτας. Plutar. Thef. p. 11.

|| Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλαχὺ ταῖς μερισταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὧν τὰ τοιαῦτα θυμὰ τὰ εὐρεῖ τις ἀν' ἀρεσαστομένα εἶναι. Plat. Polit. p. 290.

confirmed

confirmed by the People. All || Matters of Religion, Blasphemy against the Gods, and Contempt of the Holy Mysteries, all Sorts of Impiety, the Consecration of new Gods, and the Erection of Temples and Altars, and the Introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worship, were referred to the Judgment of the Lay Court or Senate of *Areopagus*; whence St. *Paul* was arraigned before them, as a *Setter-forth of strange Gods*, when he *preached unto them Jesus and the Resurrection*. The Multitude of Gods that were worshipped by the ancient *Greeks* were in reality no more, as to the far greater Part of them, than dead Men, whom * *Lay Superstition* had consecrated into Deities, either upon Account of some intellectual or bodily Excellencies, or through Flattery of their Power, or because of some signal Benefits they had received from their Government. † Hence

|| Potter's Antiq. V. 1. p. 105.

* Non est dubium, quin illis temporibus homines regem ipsum, totamque gentem summis laudibus ac novis honoribus jactare ceperint, ut etiam Deos appellarent, sive ob miraculum virtutis (hoc vere putabant rudes adhuc et simplices) sive ut fieri solet in adulationem præsentis potentiæ; sive ob beneficia quibus erant ad humanitatem compositi. Lactan. de fals. Relig. c. 15.

† Suscepit autem vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentis viros in cælum fama et voluntate tollerent. Hinc Hercules, hinc Castor et Pollux, hinc Aesculapius, hinc Liber etiam. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules

Innixus arces attigit igneas. Hor. Carm. l. 3. Od. 3.

Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Esculapius, Bacchus, and others. Nor is there any Question but that State Policy had a great Share in these Deifications, and that ancient Lawgivers, and Princes and States introduced them as an * Encouragement to what they accounted publick Virtue, and the more effectually to excite Persons chearfully to undergo all Labours and Hazards for the publick Good. The *Greek* Poets helped on these Superstitions, complementing even bad Princes into Deities, and by the Charms of Poetry confirming the Minds of the People in all the ancient Gods and Rites they had received by Tradition from their Ancestors. And of this Lay Artifice and Craft many of the ancient *Greek* Philosophers were abundantly sensible, who ‡ taught that their Gods were created *by Art* and certain Laws, and not such *by Nature*, and that therefore they were different amongst different States, as they agreed to establish them by Law. This was the Doctrine of many of the *Greek* Philosophers and Poets, which they instilled into the Minds of the Youth;

* Atqui in plerisque civitatibus intelligi potest, augendæ (apud Lactant. loc. cit. acuendæ) virtutis gratia, quo libentius reipublicæ causa periculum adiret optumus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore Deorum immortalium consecratam. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 19.

‡ Θεοι, Ω μακαρις, ειναι ποτε φασι ουτοι τεχνη, ου φυσει, αλλα ποι νομοις, κ' ταυτες αλλος αλλοις, οπη εκαστοι εαυτοισι συνωμολογησαν νομοθετημενοι. Plat. de Leg. l. 10. p. 889.

whence

whence *Plato* says ||, they many of them fell into impious Notions, because they thought those to be no Gods, whom the Law commanded to believe and consider as Gods. This Superstition and political Introduction of many Gods, by ancient Lawgivers and States, was necessarily followed by numberless Rites and Ceremonies, appointed in Honour of them; appointed by those who first erected them into Deities, and confirmed and established, not only by common Usage, but by the Authority of publick Laws, and by those Laws rendred unalterable.

We shall also find that the Superstitions of *Rome* were of Lay Original. In the Beginning of that Common-Wealth, their Temples and Ceremonies of Religion were but few. *Romulus* himself is said by some Writers to have built but two, nor were there for many * Years any such Things as Statues and Images amongst them. *Numa* † their second King, from a full Persuasion of the invifible and incorruptible
Nature

|| Ταυτα εστιν, ω φιλοι, απαντα ανδρων σοφων ὧς νεοις ανθρωποις, ιδιωτων τε κ' ποιητων, φασκοντων ειναι το διχαλοισιον οτι τις αν νικα βιαζομενθ. Οθεν ασβεσαι τε ανθρωποις επιπλησει νεοις, ως εκ οντων θεων οικεσ ο νομεθ περσ τατλει διανοειδται ειν. Ibid. p. 890.

* Dicit etiam antiquos Romanos plus quam annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulachro coluisse; quod si adhuc, inquit, mansisset, castius Dii observarentur. Varro apud S. August. de civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 31. Alex. ab Alex. l. 6 c. 26.

† Ουτε γαρ εκεινθ αιδηλον, η παθηλον, αοραλον δε κ' ακησλον κ' νοηλον υπελαμβανεν ειναι το περστον. Ουτθ δε διεκωλυτεν ανθρωποις κ' ζωμορσον εκονα θεε Ρωμαιοις νομιζειν Ου δ' ην παρ' αυτοις ετε γραπτον, ετε πλασον ειδθ θεε περστερον, αλλ' εκα-

Nature of God, forbad the *Romans* to ascribe to God any Likeness or Form of Man or Beast; nor was any Image of the Deity painted or made amongst them, nor any Statue to represent him for the first 170 Years of the City. *Numa* † however was Chief Pontiff himself as well as King, and finding * that he was to govern a fierce and martial People, who would very difficultly be reduced within the Obedience of Laws, he cunningly made use of Religion to mollify and subdue them, ordaining various Sacrifices and solemn Processions, which by a Mixture of the grave and agreeable were proper to soften and civilize them. Besides this ‡; he terrified them with the Gods, and by telling

τον εβδμηκοντα τοις περτοις ετεσι νανς κλη οικοδομικηροι διε-
τελουν, κη καλιαδας ιερας ιωντες, αγαλμα δε εδεν εμμορσον
ποιικηροι διετελουν. Ως ετε οσιον αφομοιεν τα βελτιονα τοις
χειροσι, ετε εραπτεδαι δεκ δυνατον αλλως η νοησει. Plut. vit.
Num. p. 65. Vid. etiam Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 358, 359.
citat. ab Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 410.

† Φασιν αυτον ενα τετων τον περτον γλυνεαδ. Plut. ibid.

* Ουτω δε μετεωρον κη τελεγχυμενον δημον κ μικρας εδε
φαυλης οιομενθ ειναι περαγμαλειω μεταχειρισαδαι κη μετακοσ-
μισαι περς ειρηνην, ηγαζετο την απο των θεων βοηθειαν, τα μεν
πολλα δυσiais κη πομπαις κη χορραις, ως αυτθ αρμασε, κη κα-
τεστησεν, αμα σεμνοτιτι διαγωγην επχαειν κη φιλανθρωπον ηδονην
εχυσαις, δημαγωγων κη τιδασσεων το θυμοειδες κη φιλοπολεμον.
Plutar. ibid. p. 64. Quid Numa religiosius? Ita res poposcit,
ut ferox populus deorum metu mitigaretur. Flor. l. i. c. 8. Ut
populum ferum religione molliret sacra plurima instituit. Aurel.
Vict. de vir. illustr. c. 3.

‡ Εσι δ' οτε κη φοβος τινας απαγγελων ωρα τε δεκ, κη
φασματα δαιμονων αλλοκοτα, κη φωνας εκ ευμενεις, εδελκ κη
ταπεινην εποικη την διανοιαν αυτων υπο δεισιδαιμονιας. Plutar.
ibid.

them

them of horrible Apparitions of Demons, and direful Voices, on purpose to tame them, and render them humble and tractable by such Superstitions; and as other Lawgivers had done before him, he feigned * heavenly Visions and Instructions to add Authority to his Constitutions. He had also the Art † of taming Eagles, so that he could stop them by his Word, and could bring them down from the Heavens as they were flying over his Head; and, like *Pythagoras*, boasted of his golden Thigh, that his People might look on him to be something really Divine. And many other Instances of this Legerdemain are ascribed to him, which he made use of to secure his Dominion, and render the *Roman* Nation governable. The ‡ Appointments of the Priests to each God, the Distinction of the *Dies fausti et nefasti*, the *Vestal-Virgins*, their Sacred Fire, and their Stipend from the Publick, the *Salii* with their *Ancilia* or Shields, in Imitation of a certain Shield which *Numa* told them fell down from Heaven, and which *Egeria* and the *Muses* told him was sent for the Preservation of the City,

* Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse: Ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima Diis essent, sacra instituire, sacerdotes suos cuique Deorum præficere. Liv. l. i. c. 19.

† Και γαρ εκεινθ' αειον τε δοκει θεωναι φωναις ποιν επισησας, η καταχαλων υπειπταυδρον, τον τε μεσση απορηναι χρυσον Ολυμπιασι διαπρενομενθ' την πανηγυειν. Αλλας τε τερατωδεις μηχανας αυθ' η θεωζεις ανεγζελλασι. Id. ibid. p. 65.

‡ Vid. Liv. Hist. L. i. c. 19. 20. Plutarc. Num. p. 65. &c.

their painted Garments, their Songs and Dances, the Sacred Rites the Pontiff was to observe, the Worship of the *Manes*, the Doctrines of Thunders and Prodigies, Altars, Purgings and Lustrations, the Temples of *Fides* and *Terminus*, the Pomp of Sacrifices, and a Thousand other Things of like Nature, were the Institutions of *Numa*, for which he pretended Divine Revelation and Authority. In truth the whole of the first Religion of the *Romans* was of Royal and Lay Original, by *state* not *priestly Policy* suited to the Tempers of the People, and wholly adapted to bring them into, and keep them under submission to their Superiors. *Tullus Hostilius* * their next King was originally of a very martial Disposition, but at length became the *most perfect Enthusiast*, fell into all Kinds of Superstition, and filled the City with innumerable Ceremonies of Religion. But yet during all this Space of Time their Temples were free from Statues and Images, because it was thought impious to liken what was more excellent to that which was meaner, and impossible to comprehend God any other Way than by the Understanding. *Tarquinius Priscus* was the first that introduced these Symbols of the Gods, and corrupted the Simplicity of the old *Roman* Worship, by mixing with it all the Superstitions of

* Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium, quam sacris dedere animum; repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Liv. Lib. 1. c. 31.

Tuscany and *Greece*, from both which he was descended. This is confirmed by *Florus* † in his Epitome, who tells us of *Tarquin*, that he mixed the *Greek* Disposition with the Arts of *Italy*; and is intimated by *Tertullian* ‡, who says, that though *Numa* was superstitiously curious, yet that hitherto the *Roman* Religion subsisted without Images or Temples; that their Religion was frugal, their Rites plain, no Capitols arising up to Heaven, that their Altars were of Turf, their holy Vessels were earthen Ware, the Smell of their Sacrifices small, and God himself no where to be seen; for till this Time the *Greeks* and *Tuscan* Artists had not overwhelmed *Italy* with their Images. These therefore came in with *Tarquinius Priscus*, who though originally of *Grecian* Extract, yet was born at *Tarquinii* a *Tuscan* City, and who having imbibed the Superstitions of both, transplanted them into *Rome*, and brought his *Tuscan* Artists along with him to promote the holy Trade of Image-making; which gave rise to innumerable Impieties, and filled the *Roman* Empire with the most stupid Idolatries. *Tarquin* lived to above the hundred and seventieth Year after the

† Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset. Flor. Epit. L. 1. c. 5.

‡ Nam etsi a *Numa* concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen aut simulachris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat. Frugi religio et pauperes ritus, et nulla Capitolia certantia cœlo, sed temeraria de cespite altaria, et vasa adhuc Samia, et nidor exilis, et Deus ipse nusquam. Nondum enim tunc ingenia Græcorum atque Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverant. Apolog. c. 25.

Foundation of *Rome*, and *Tanaquill* his Queen appears from many Instances to have been well skilled in all the religious Arts of her native Country. In a Word † the whole religious Constitution of *Rome* was originally the Establishment of her first Kings and Princes. Some Parts of it were formed by *Numa*, others by *Tullus Hostilius*, others by all the Kings that succeeded him ; and *Romulus* himself sowed the first Seeds and Beginnings of all their sacred Rites, which laid the Foundations for all after Improvements.

And so intirely was Religion under the Management of the Civil Power, that by *Romulus* || his Appointment, the King was Supreme over all the Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and nothing was to be done in reference to the Gods without him ; nor was any one * allowed to have his own separate Gods, nor privately to worship any new or foreign Gods, besides those who were introduced by publick Authority. Under him the Senate ‡ had the Management of all Sacred Affairs, and none originally but Men of senatorial Dignity were admitted into the Chief-priesthoods

† Εστὶ μὲν ἐν α καὶ Νόμας Πομπηλιῶ — κατεστησατο μνημὸς ἀξία καὶ λόγος — καὶ Τυλλῶ Οσίλιῶ — καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκείρων γινόμενοι βασιλεῖς. Ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς παρέσχεον, καὶ τὰ κρείωτάτα κατασκευάσαντες τῶν ὧν τὰ θεῖα νομίμων, Ρώμυλος ἦν. Dion. Hal. A. R. l. 2. p. 91.

‡ Βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν ἐξήρηντο τὰδε τὰ γένη. Πρωτὸν μὲν, ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, καὶ πάντα δι' ἐκείνου θεωρεῖσθαι τὰ θεῶς τις θεὸς οἶα. Id. ibid. p. 84.

* Separatim nemo habessit Deos : neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto. Cicer. de Leg. l. 2. §. 8.

‡ Ο δὲ Ρώμυλος — ἐνομοθετεῖ — τις μὲν Εὐπατειδῆς ἱερασκεῖν τε καὶ ἀρχεῖν καὶ δικάζειν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κοινὰ θεωρεῖν. Dionys. H. A. R. l. 2. p. 81.

of the Commonwealth ; as *Livy* * expressly assures us, when he tells us, that in the Consulships of *M. Valerius* and *Q. Appuleius*, the *Plebeians* partook of all the Honours of the City, except the Priesthoods, which as yet were not become promiscuous ; and when four *Plebeians* were added to the Number of Pontiffs, they were Men of consular Dignity, and who continued to be employed in the most honourable Offices of the State. So that Religion in *Rome* was intirely under the Civil Power, and nothing could be established in reference to it without the Leave of the Magistrate and Commonwealth. Their Superstitions were of Law Introduction, and often applied to political Purposes, as might be made appear by manifold Instances.

I may also add on this Head, that the Deviations from true Religion, and the Introduction of Idolatry and Superstition into the two Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, were owing either to the wicked Policy or Weakness of their Princes, and in which the established *Jewish* Priesthood had, as far as any thing appears, no Hand. *Solomon built an High-place for Chemosh the God of Moab, and for Molech the God of Ammon.* And when *Jeroboam* had drawn off ten Tribes from the House of *David*, and got himself elected King over them, his Policy

* Quorum honoribus nihil, præter Sacerdotia, quæ nondum promiscua erant, deesset. Lib. 10. c. 6. 9.

suggested to him : * *If this People go up to do Sacrifices in the House of the Lord in Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam King of Judah. Whereupon the King took counsel and made two Calves of Gold, and said unto them : It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt.* And when he had thus established his Idol-Gods, he soon found Lay-men profligate enough to be converted into Priests to minister to them. *He made Priests of the lowest of the People, which were not of the Sons of Levi.* The whole History of those two Kingdoms is a Demonstration that it was Lay Wickedness and Policy, and not Priestcraft, that gave rise to those Impieties and Corruptions, that at length ended in their intire Subversion and Dissolution.

It is easy to shew that *Lay Craft* hath also had a principal Share in the great Corruptions that have been introduced into the *Christian Church*. But the Subject is too large to be here distinctly treated ; and enough I imagine hath been already said, to stop the Mouths of those Ignorant and *noisy Gentlemen*, who call *all Superstition* by the Name of *Priestcraft*, and resolve all those Corruptions of Religion into the Arts of the Priests, which have really the Honour of *Lay Original* and Invention. Politick

* 1 King. xii. 27. 28.

Princes and Statesmen have almost always considered Religion as a mere Engine of State, and applied it to their own secular Interests and Purposes, and have introduced innumerable Rites and Practices, under the Colour and Pretext of Religion, only to keep their People in Ignorance and Subjection. Pride and Tyranny, and Impatience of Contradiction, and the Lust of ruling over the Souls as well as Bodies of Men, have been the Sources of many other religious Abuses. And as Kings and Princes, the Rich and Great, have their Vices and Passions to gratify, Passions proportionably strong to the Means and Opportunities they have of indulging them; if they have not been able wholly to throw off all Sense of Deity, and regard to Religion; they have been generally for forming a Religion suitable to their own Taste, and consistent with their Vices; a merely external, shewy, pompous Religion; that by certain bodily Exercises will allow them to compound for their Crimes, and help them to * appease the Deity without forsaking their Vices; a Disposition that must in its Nature lead to the grossest Corruptions of Things sacred, and in fact hath occasioned many of the most remarkable of them, and been one of the principal Means of their Establishment and Continuance in the World.

* * Πασιμις ου τις θεος ειναι τοις αδικουσι, δεχομενος δωρον.
Plat. de Leg. l. 10. p. 905.

I write not this out of any Fondness for *the Name of Priests*, and am as far as any Man living from vindicating their Conduct in general, or affirming that they have not greatly helped forwards the Superstitions of Mankind. I know they have. But then let all Parties, who have contributed to the Work, have their Share of Blame, and let not the *ridiculous Cant* and Cry of Priestcraft be allowed to shelter and wipe away all the Craft and Rogueries of the Laity ; who have been, to say the least, equally deep in the Guilt ; who, to say the Truth, have been the Leaders in it, and even to this Day are the grand Supports and principal Defenders of it. The Philosopher indeed would have been quite undone if he had his Mouth stopped in this respect. He is eternally *barking out* Priestcraft, and his three Volumes of *the Moral Philosopher*, if stripped of this Article, and confined to Truth and Reason, would scarce have arisen to the Price of a *twelve Penny Pamphlet*. But Equity and Candor were Virtues never to be expected from him ; and his Writings, *the little while* they are *fated to live* amongst Mankind, will shew his true Character in a stronger Light, than I have Inclination or Power to represent it.

S E C T. XVI.

The Conclusion of Joseph's History.

AFTER these notable Observations relating to the *Egyptian* Priesthood, the Philosopher tells us, * that *in the Course of 126 Years, or from the last Year of the Famine to the Birth of Moses, the Historian mentions but two remarkable Incidents which happened in Egypt. The first is the Death of Jacob the Father of the Nation, seventeen Years after the Descent into Egypt; and the other I suppose is, for the Philosopher doth not distinctly mention it, his magnificent Funeral. But he is mistaken in this; for there are several very remarkable Incidents taken notice of in this Period; and particularly one, which, because it makes for Joseph's Honour, would have been out of Character for the Philosopher to have related: 'Tis this: † When Joseph's Brethren saw that their Father was dead, they said, Joseph will peradventure hate us, and will certainly requite us all the Evil which we did unto him; and they sent Messengers unto Joseph, saying, Thy Father did command before he died, saying, so shall ye say unto Joseph: Forgive I pray thee now the Trespas of thy Brethren, and their Sin, for they did unto thee Evil. And now we pray thee forgive the Trespas of the Servants of the God of*

* V. III. p. 23.

† Gen. l. 15. — 20.

thy Father. What was this Politician's Conduct at this *moving Message*? Joseph *wept when they thus spoke to him.* A thousand tender Thoughts crowded into his Mind, and his Tears discovered the Compassion and Generosity of his Heart. But his Brethren, not content with the Message they had sent, *went and fell down before his Face, and they said behold we be thy Servants.* Did my Hebrew Lord take them at their Word? Did he reproach them for their Perfidy and Cruelty to him? No. Observe, Reader, the Answer, and if thou canst read it without a warm Emotion in thy Breast, thou art made of very different Materials from what I am. Joseph *said to them: Fear not. Am I in the Place of God?* Can I counter-act his Providence or oppose his Will? *As for you, you thought Evil against me, but God meant it unto Good to bring to pass as 'tis this Day, to save much People alive. Now therefore fear ye not. I will nourish you and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly to them.*

So far was the Philosopher from commending this brotherly Affection in Joseph, that he chooses to censure him for his Piety and Fidelity to his own Father; for he tells us * that Jacob was buried with the greatest funeral Pomp and magnificent Mourning, that ever had been known in Egypt, even for the best of their own Kings; but that Joseph was so far wise enough to do nothing without consulting the King, and

* P. 23.

obtaining his Consent, as he did in this magnificent Interment of his Father. 'Tis pity this Gentleman had not produced the Ceremonial observed in the Funeral of the *Egyptian Kings*, that we might have compared it with that of *Jacob*, since he is so very positive that *Jacob* had been honoured with * *the most publick and magnificent Funeral that ever had been before known*. But the Philosopher, for all his Confidence, knew nothing of the Matter. The Historian observes that † *Joseph commanded his Servants to embalm his Father, and that forty Days were fulfilled for Jacob, for so are fulfilled the Days of those who are embalmed, and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten Days*. In all this there is nothing extraordinary, for forty Days was the usual Time allotted for embalming dead Bodies amongst the *Egyptians*. Thus *Diodorus* ‡: They first cure the whole Body with a Wash, or Oil of Cedar, and some other Ingredients for the Space of more than thirty Days, afterwards mixing Myrrh and Cinnamon, not only to preserve it for a long While, but to make it send forth an agreeable Smell: Nor was there any thing uncommon in the Embalming him, which was in frequent use amongst the *Egyptians*, and practiced by the Rich and

* Ibid. p. 31.

† Gen. 1. 2. 3.

‡ Καθολικὴ δὲ παντὸς σώματος τὸ μύρον περὶ τὸν καθεύοντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξίωσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριακοντῶν, ἑπεὶ τὰ σμύρνη καὶ κινναμώμῳ, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεται, ὡς ἀπαιτεῖται. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 82.

Poor, though in * different Methods and for different Prices; nor in the Days spent in mourning for him, which were usually three-score and Ten. This seems to be intimated by *Herodotus* †, who says: They season, or pickle the Body with Nitre, and keep it in this Pickle seventy Days, beyond which it is not lawful to keep them in it. Though the Embalming was properly finished in forty Days, according to the Old Testament and *Diodorus*, yet it remained in the Pickle seventy Days, as *Herodotus* tells us, till it was thoroughly seasoned; which were the set Days allowed for the Mourning. And more expressly ‡ *Diodorus*: When any one of their Kings dies, all the *Egyptians* in common mourn, rent their Garments, shut up the Temples, forbid all Sacrifices, and keep no Festivals for threescore and twelve, or rather, ten Days; which Number of Days was also observed in the embalming Persons of lower Rank and Fortune, as *Herodotus* || tells us. So that the only *extraordinary*

* Την μὲν σπένδαμοτατην αὐτῶν φασὶ εἶναι — την τι δευτέρην δεικνύουσι υποδέεσθην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐφραδεσθην, την δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεσάτην. Herod. l. 2. c. 86. Diodor. l. 1. p. 81.

† Ταριχεύουσι λίτρω, κρυψάντες ἡμέρας ἐβδομηκοντῆα. Πλευρὰς δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ ἐξῆς ταριχεύειν. Euterp. c. 86.

‡ Οποτε γὰρ ἐκλείπει τις τὸν βίον τῶν βασιλέων, πάντες οὐ κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον κοινὸν ἀνηρένιο πένθος, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐθνητὰς χαλερρητίζοντο, τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα συνεκλείον, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπέχον, καὶ τὰς εορτὰς ἐκ ἤγον, ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐβδομηκοντῆα καὶ δύο. l. 1. p. 65.

|| Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταριχευσις ἐστὶ ἡδὲ, ἢ τὰς χρημασι ἀδυνεστερεὰ σκευάζει. Συρμαίνοντι δυνήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην, ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομηκοντὰ ἡμέρας.

Pomp in Jacob's Funeral, that can be pretended, is the March into *Canaan*, where they buried the good old Patriarch in the Sepulchre of his Forefathers, in reference to which it is said: † *Joseph went up to bury his Father, and with him went up all the Servants of Pharaoh, the Elders of his House, and all the Elders of the Land of Egypt, and all the House of Joseph, and his Brethren, and their Father's House, and there went up with him both Chariots and Horsemen, and it was a very great Company. And he made a Mourning for his Father seven Days.* The Procession from *Egypt* into *Canaan* was a Thing purely accidental in *Jacob's Funeral*, and its being attended by *Joseph* and *Jacob's Family* was a Circumstance of Decency that could not well be avoided. And as *Joseph* himself could not have gone into *Canaan* to bury his Father, without *Pharaoh's* Leave, much less could *Pharaoh's* household Servants and the Elders of *Egypt*. So that their being in the funeral Procession was by the King's Command, in order to do the more Honour to him, who by his Counsel and prudent Management, had been the Saviour of the Nation. So that the Grandure of this Procession was partly necessary, and partly by royal Appointment. But all this Pomp and Magnificence was nothing to what was made use of at the Funeral of their most ancient Princes, who were consecrated and deified after their Deaths, as * *Diodorus Siculus*

† Gen. l. 7, 8, 9, 10.

* L. i. p. 18, 19.

informs us. Yea all their good † Princes were buried in the most splendid Manner, with the most extravagant Tokens of Mournings, many Millions of the People attending their dead Bodies when carried to their Interment, as may be seen in *Diodorus*.

What he adds on this Head, that *though Joseph had now the whole Power of the Kingdom in his Hands, yet he was so far wise enough to do nothing without consulting the King, and obtaining his Consent, as he did in this magnificent Interment of his Father*; shews at least *Joseph's* great Moderation in the Use of his Power, if it was really as great as the Philosopher makes it. But *Joseph's* Request recorded by the Historian, shews the Philosopher to be in a Dream, as usual, and that he had not the whole Power of the Kingdom of *Egypt* now in his Hands. Let *Joseph* witness for himself: * *Joseph spoke unto the House of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found Grace in your Eyes, speak I pray you in the Ears of Pharaoh, let me go up I pray thee, and bury my Father, and I will come again*. Likely Language this, for a Man that was Master of the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*! Had he been possessed of this Power, would he have applied in so very humble a Manner to *Pharaoh's* House, or Servants, *If now I have found Grace in your*

† Τα ὄρεα τὴν ταφὴν λαμπρῶς ποιεῖσθαι — αἱ δὲ ὄρεσ
τὴν ἐκφορὰν συνηγμένας μυριάδες τῶν οὐλῶν. *Diod. Sic. l. 1.*
p. 65. 66.

* Gen. l. 4, 5.

Eyes, speak I pray you in the Ears of Pharaoh? If he had the King himself under his Controul, and stript him of all his Power, and left him nothing but the Name of King, what need of the Intercession of *Pharaoh's* House to obtain a Favour he could have commanded without their Assistance, or even whether the King himself would have permitted it or not? He had, if we are to believe the Philosopher, Possession of the whole military Force of the Kingdom, had disposed amongst his Brethren the chief Places of Power and Profit in the Country, and made them Governors and Rulers in *Egypt*; and by Consequence *Pharaoh's* Household must have been his Creatures, and absolutely under his Direction, and himself their Head and Governor in all Things. But had this been the Case, would he, who was Prime Minister, and more than Prime Minister, even King as to Reality and Power, have made such Submission to his Inferiors and Dependents, and sought by the lesser Interest of the Household what his own superior Authority could more immediately and directly have procured him? The Thing is incredible in its Nature, and the Philosopher must not imagine to impose such Fictions as these on the Belief of any, but such who, like himself, have Faith enough to believe the greatest Absurdities, provided they are injurious to the Accounts given by the sacred Writers.

'Tis of a Piece with the rest of his Discoveries, and equally agreeable to Truth and Fact, when he adds: * *While Joseph kept his Interest at Court, we find no Talk or the least Design or Intention of leaving Egypt, or settling in Canaan; not one Word of the Promise and Oath of God to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of giving them the everlasting peaceable Possession of that whole Land.* Would any one imagine this could ever have fallen from the Pen of a Man, who, but in the foregoing Page, had asserted, that *Jacob had left it in Charge on his Death-Bed, that he should be carried out of Egypt and buried in Canaan, and that this was accordingly done with the greatest Funeral-Pomp that had ever been known in Egypt?* This was pointing out to the whole Family of *Jacob*, that *Canaan* was their proper Country, and that they were to look for a Settlement, not in *Egypt*, but there, where they had deposited the Remains of their venerable Ancestors. Besides let any one read the 48th and 49th Chapters of *Genesis*, and he will soon be convinced that the Philosopher's Assertion is a downright Falshood. But this whole Matter the Reader will see fully handled in the foregoing Part, Chap. 1. §. 5. to which I refer him.

But to do the Philosopher justice, he endeavours to prove as well as assert; and tells us, † *had this been any Part of the Design, whilst Joseph had the chief Government, and directed*

* V. III. p. 24.

† Ibid.

all Affairs at the Egyptian Court, and while this Prime Minister had the Power of Egypt at his Command, that not a Man could have lifted up his Hand or Foot without him, how easily might he have settled his Nation in Canaan, while there could have been no opposition against the whole Force of Egypt. All Things are easy to a *Romance Writer*. He can create and destroy, enslave, deliver and conquer Nations, and build Castles and demolish them in a Moment. *Joseph*, as the Philosopher thinks, could do this, and that easily. But with all his Philosophy he knows nothing about it. *Joseph*, and the rest of the *Jewish* Patriarchs knew, that though they were to possess *Canaan*, yet that it was not to be till long after his Time, and that when they were to possess it, it was to be the Gift of God. And therefore if *Joseph* could have settled his Nation in *Canaan* by the Force of *Egypt*, he had too much Virtue and Piety to do it, since he knew that was no Part of the Oath and Promise of God; but even contrary to his Order and Appointment. Nor doth this Writer know any Thing about the Force of *Egypt*, at this Time, nor the Opposition that could have been made against it by the Inhabitants of *Canaan*. He hath not made it appear, and I know he could not, that all *Egypt* was at this Time united under the Government of one King. I think I can make it appear extremely probable, that it was under the Government of many, and continued so several Years after. Thus saith

* *Manetho* the Writer of the *Egyptian Antiquities*. The aforementioned Kings of those People called *the Shepherds*, and their Posterity, ruled *Egypt* five hundred and eleven Years. After these Things, the Kings of *Thebais*, and of the other Part of *Egypt*, rose against them. So that according to this Testimony, there were several Kings in *Egypt*, some in the upper, some in the lower *Egypt*, at this Time, and for near one hundred and fifty Years after the Death of *Joseph*; for there were about so many Years from his Decease to the Expulsion of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*. This is acknowledged by *Marsham*, and by *Scaliger* as cited by him; who says it is plain, that there were several Kings at the same time in *Egypt*, who reigned in different Parts. † *Artapanus* also, cited by *Eusebius*, tells us, that after *Abraham's* Death, and the King of *Egypt*, who was contemporary with him, *Palmanoth* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and ill treated the *Jews*, built *Cessa* and a Temple in it, and afterwards

* Τῆς δὲ τῆς περὶ ἡγετωνομασμενῆς βασιλεῶς τῆς τῶν ποιμένων ἡγεμενῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν γινόμενης κερήταις τῆς Αἰγυπτίου φησὶν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πεντακοστοὺς ἐνδεκά. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θεβαίδος καὶ τῆς Ἀλλῆς Αἰγυπτίου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ποιμενῆς ἐπαναστατῆν. *Maneth. apud Joseph. Cont. Apion. l. i. §. 14.*

† Ἀρταπὸν τελευτήσαντι — ομοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς βασιλεῶς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὴν δυναστείαν ἀνέλαβεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Παλμανῶδην· τῆτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φανερῶς προσφερόμεται — Τῆτον δὲ γεννησάμενον θυγατέρα Μερεῖν, ἣν Χενεφεθὴν πάλιν καλεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ Μεμφιν τοπῶν βασιλεύοντι. Πολλὰς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἰγυπτίου βασιλεύειν. *Artap. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 27.*

the Temple in *Heliopolis*; that his Daughter *Merris* was betrothed to *Chenephres*, King of that Part of *Egypt* that lay beyond *Memphis*; for at that Time many Kings governed *Egypt*. And indeed this is agreeable to the Simplicity of those ancient Times, when each Country had several Kings, and almost every larger Town was subject to its own Prince; nor can the Accounts we have of the several *Egyptian* Dynasties, particularly those of upper and lower *Egypt*, possibly admit of any other Supposition. And if this be true, as unquestionably it is, our Author's Account of the whole Power of *Egypt* being at *Joseph's* Command, is mere *philosophical Vapour*, and hath no Foundation but in his own fruitful Invention. And though possibly the *Canaanites* could have made no Opposition against the whole Force of *Egypt*, yet this is an impertinent Remark, because the whole Force of *Egypt* was not in *Joseph's* Hand; and it is more than probable that the Inhabitants of *Canaan* could have made sufficient Resistance against the Forces of *Lower Egypt* only, where *Joseph* acted as Prime Minister; especially as the People peculiarly called *Canaanites*, who were a very powerful Nation, were then in the Land; though our Author, with a Modesty peculiar to himself, denies it, in opposition to the most express Evidence, as I have already shewn Chap. 1. §. 2. p. 38, &c.

The last Thing remarkable in his Account of Joseph is, that * *when Joseph died, he had only a private Interment, being embalmed and laid up in a Chest in Egypt, without any Solemnity of a publick Mourning, or national Concern discovered about it; and for this he cites Gen. l. 26. Or as he elsewhere expresses it : † We find that he died obscurely, and had only a private Interment, without any publick Notice taken of it. We find that he died obscurely !* It would have been extremely civil to have told us, where we could find this. I have been looking for it, and I have the Misfortune to be able to find it no where. Gen. l. 26. proves no such Thing, but rather the contrary. For the Text expressly says, *they embalmed him*; and by consequence there must have been ‡ *forty Days fulfilled for him, for so are fulfilled the Days of those which are embalmed*; and therefore he was most certainly mourned for the usual seventy Days, according to the Custom of the || *Egyptians*, because the whole Embalming was not fully finished in less than seventy Days. And this is more than intimated by an ancient § Writer, who says; that all *Israel* and all *Egypt* mourned for him with a great Mourning, for that he had

* V. III. p. 24.

† P. 81.

‡ Gen. l. 3.

|| Herod. l. 20. p. 119.

§ Επειδυσεν αυτον πας Ισραηλ, κ' πασα η Αιγυπτος, πένθος μέγα. Και γαρ τοις Αιγυπτιοις ως ιδίοις μέλεσι συνεπαγε, κ' ευηργεσε παντι εργω, κ' βελη κ' τραγυμασι φειταμενθ. Testam. Jon. apud Fabric. Cod. Pleud. V. I. p. 726. quoted by Mr. Chapman, V. 2. Pref. p. 15.

an equal Compassion for them as for himself, and was in all Things their Benefactor both by Counsel and Conduct. *Josephus* * says of him, that he died, 110 Years old, being a Person wonderful for his Virtue, and managing all Things and dispensing his Power with Reason and Wisdom ; making his Power in *Egypt* of equal Continuance with his Life. And † *Philo* more expressly : He died in a good or prosperous old Age, having spent seventeen Years in his Father's House, thirteen in unexpected Misfortunes, being ensnared, sold, in Bondage, falsely accused, and bound in Jail. The remaining eighty he spent in the Government, viz. of *Egypt*, and in all Prosperity, being the Superintendent and Distributor of the Famine and Plenty, and one abundantly capable of rightly managing in either Season. *His dying obscurely* is mere Surmise and Invention, without either Ground or Probability ; and the Expression, that, ‡ *after the Death of Joseph, and all his Brethren and all that Generation, there arose up a new King over Egypt, which knew not Joseph* ; is a very plain Intimation, that *Joseph*

* Τελευτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ βιωτῇ ἐκατὸν καὶ δεῦρ, δαυμασίν τὴν ἀρετὴν γενομένη, καὶ λογισμῶ πάντα διοικῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταμνευμένη. *Joseph. Ant.* l. 2. c. 8. §. 2.

† Ἐτελευτήσεν εὐχάρως—ἐπὶ τριάδεκα ἀχρὶ μεσσηκῆς διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ πατρῷα οἰκίᾳ· Τρισκαιδέκα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀβελήτοις συνπηγαῖς, ἐπὶ βλεπομένη, πειραττομένη ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καταδύμενη. Τὸ δ' ἄλλως σφδονκόντα ἐν πνεύματι καὶ εὐφραγίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, λιμῇ καὶ εὐδυνίᾳ φορῶς καὶ βραβεύτῃς ἀρίστῃ, τὰ πρὸς ἑκάτερον καίεν πρὸς ταννεὺν ἰκανώτατα. *Phil. de Joseph.* in fine.

‡ *Exod.* i. 6, 8.

held his Reputation during Life, and was in great Credit and Esteem long after his Death.

As to what he adds, of Joseph's *having only a private Interment*, here also we have only mere philosophical Assertion, without so much as one Authority, or the very Attempt of Evidence or Proof. The *Egyptians* had a double Way of disposing the embalmed Bodies of their Dead; either keeping † them in little kind of Chapels, or Houses, built on purpose for their Reception, in or near their Dwelling-Houses, where their surviving Relations might have the Pleasure of frequently beholding them. Or else they transported them into a certain Isle, which was the more general Receptacle for the Deceased where they buried them in their proper Sepulchres. As Joseph obliged the Children of *Israel* by an Oath * to carry up his Bones out of Egypt into Canaan, it is very probable they would not put his dead Body amongst those of the Princes and Nobles of *Egypt*; lest this should have prevented their carrying his Remains with them from thence; but that they disposed of him in a more private way, keeping him amongst themselves in *Goshen*, in a particular Chapel or Sepulchre, as was sometimes customary in *Egypt*, that whenever the Time came for their return to *Canaan*, they might the more

† Διο ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν οἰκημασί ποικυτελεσι φυλάττοντες τὰ σῶματα τῶν περὶ τῶν κατ' ὅσον ὁρῶντες γενεαὶς πολλαῖς τῆς αὐτῶν γενεῶς πρὸς τετελευτηνηκότας, — Τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα διατίθεσθαι σῶματα, οἱ συγγενεῖς — διαβεβαιύνται, λέγοντες ὅτι διαβαίνειν μέλλει τὴν λίμνην. Diodor. p. 82.

* Gen. 1. 25.

easily convey him along with them, according to the Oath he had exacted of them. If this was the Case, it might make his funeral Solemnity the less pompous; though the Philosopher is perfectly ignorant how it was performed, and hath nothing but his usual Confidence to support the Assertion, that it *was a private Interment, without any publick Notice taken of it.*

I am persuaded, that no Reader of Candor and Humanity can look over the Account which he hath given of this *illustrious Patriarch*, without detesting the Malice that appears throughout the whole of it, and despising the Ignorance he betrays in every Thing of Learning and Antiquity. It is true, what he wants this way, he makes up in Confidence, and asserts Things of which he knows nothing, without Fear or Remorse. He blasphemes the Characters of Men, without Decency, without Distinction, without Shadow of Truth, and seems determined, as far as his Influence can go, that there shall not be one Person of Honour and Integrity in the whole *Jewish Nation*. Such a desperate and unmerciful Attempt to blacken so many Generations, and to rob even the illustrious Dead of all the Reputation and Honour, that they have born through such a long Series of succeeding Ages, never I believe had its equal, and I pray God never may to the End of Time. Let this Moral Philosopher stand therefore on Record, as the only one of the human Race that ever lived, that hath declared open War and irrecon-

cilable Enmity against the Kings, Patriarchs, Priests and Prophets of former Ages ; who hath raised up the bitterest Inquisition and Persecution against them, some thousand Years after their Death ; and under the Guise of Morality and Philosophy, hath spread in the World the cruelest Invectives, the most furious Charges, and the most impious Crimes concerning them, without betraying one single Sign of Compassion for *the Worthies* he attempts to ruin, or having the Courage, the Honour or the Integrity, to retract those Charges on them, that have been proved to be false, and therefore infamous and base. There is that Candor due to the Names of the Living, and the Memories of the Dead, as that if any of their Actions are capable of a double Construction, they ought to be construed in the most favourable Sense ; especially if it be agreeable to the general Course of their Behaviour. But what is the Conduct of this Writer ? He turns every thing to Gall and Bitterness, he overlooks their Virtues, gives the most invidious turn to dubious Passages, perverts the plainest that have any Thing in their Favour, racks his Invention for Matter of Defamation and Scandal, and introduces the most notorious Falshoods to blacken and revile them, with Probability, or the Appearance of Authority to countenance and justify them ; yea, contrary to the plainest Evidence of all History sacred and prophane. Let us put together in a few Words his History of *Joseph* as an Evidence of this.

He

He was an *Hebrew* Slave, a young *Hebrew* Politician, who had always Fortune on his Side, a rising Favourite of Fortune, who early discovered his enterprising Genius and aspiring Temper, whose boundless Ambition and Thirst of Wealth and Dominion incurred the Displeasure of his Brethren, and made him insufferable in his Father's House; but yet who providentially succeeded as a bold Adventurer for Wealth and Dominion; who though he refused the amorous Sollicitations of his Mistress, and was imprison'd on that Account, yet seems to have made up Matters with his old Mistress even in his Imprisonment; who whilst in Jail discovered such an enterprising Genius and vast Ambition, shewed himself such a Politician and ambitious Enterpriser, as that one of *Pharaoh's* chief Officers, whose Deliverance and Restoration to the royal Favour he foretold, dreaded the Consequences of bringing him to Court, and feared the Effects of his ingratiating himself with the King: Who, having the whole Power, Force, and Dominion of *Egypt* put into his Hands, fortified and garrisoned the Towns and Cities of the Kingdom, because he found that this was necessary to enslave it: Who having thus made himself Master of *Egypt*, brought down his Father and Brethren thither, and disposed amongst them the chief Places of Power and Profit in that rich and populous Country, and made them Governors and Rulers therein; who exhausted the *Egyptians* of all their Money, their

their live Stock, all their Lands, and having stripped them of all their Property and Possession made them eternal Slaves and Vassals to *Pharaoh*, and as a great Aggravation of their Misery banished them in their own Country, after he had thus impoverished and plundered them, and who made them so wretched, as that it was impossible to reduce them lower, or make them more miserable : Who, as the great Task-Master of the *Egyptians*, engrossed and monopolized all their Corn, and thereby lengthened out a destructive Famine in the Land, being resolved to give out no more of it than what might be just necessary to support Life from Hand to Mouth, till he had perfectly enslaved the People, and made himself Master of the Country : Who made the Priesthood in *Egypt* hereditary and independent of the Crown, and the Church Lands unalienable and irrefumable by the Crown by an irreverfible Decree, and laid the Foundation of all the Superftition in *Egypt*, and of the vast Power and Influence of the Priests there in after Ages : In a Word, who ruined *Egypt*, and reduced the fineft, richeft, freeft Country then in the World to a State of Misery, Poverty and Vaffalage, and intirely overthrew that free Conftitution, and introduced fuch an abfolute Power, both in Church and State, as had never been known in the World before : Who buried his Father with greater funeral Pomp and magnificent Mourning than had ever been known in *Egypt*,
even

even for the best of their Kings ; and yet at last himself died obscurely, and had a private Interment, without any publick Notice taken of it. This is his Character of *Joseph*, without mentioning one single Virtue either of private or publick Life belonging to him, and which he pretends to draw from the *Hebrew* Historian, to whom he tells us he designs to keep close. So that according to the *Hebrew* Historian, *Joseph* was insufferably Proud, Ambitious and Covetous, Crafty and Insinuating, without Mercy and Compassion, Perfidious and False, a Task-Master and a Tyrant, the Ruiner of his own Country, and the Destroyer of *Egypt*, the Enslaver of that People, the Friend of arbitrary Power, the Establisher of the priestly Hierarchy, Independency, Riches and Power, and the great Original of all those Superstitions, that the *Egyptians* afterwards spread throughout the World : A Character this, which if true, would be *execrable* beyond all Comparison, and condemn his Name and Memory to the just Abhorrence of all Ages of the World.

Would one imagine after all this Account, pretended to be taken from the *Hebrew* Historian, that that Historian speaks of him with the highest Honour, as a * Person greatly in the Favour of God, and prospered by him wherever he went, even in so extraordinary a Manner, as to become the Observation of others ; as one of the strictest Fidelity in every Trust

* Gen. xxxix. 2, 3.

committed to him, of the most exemplary Chastity and Honour, that no Sollicitations could overcome, of the most fixed Reverence for God in the midst of all the Corruptions of an idolatrous Court and Kingdom, of the noblest Resolution and Fortitude that the strongest Temptations could never subdue, of the most admirable Sagacity and Wisdom, Prudence and Discretion, that made even a Prince and his Nobles look upon him as under divine Inspiration, of that indefatigable Industry and Diligence as made him successful in the most arduous Attempts, of the most generous Compassion and Forgiveness of Spirit, that the most malicious and cruel injuries could never weaken or destroy, as the Preserver of *Egypt* and the neighbouring Nations, and as the Stay and Support of his own Father and Family; as one patient and humble in Adversity, moderate in the Use of Power and the Height of Prosperity, faithful as a Servant, dutiful as a Son, affectionate as a Brother, just and generous as a Prince and Ruler; in a Word, as one of the best and most finished Character, and as an Instance of the most exemplary and prosperous Piety and Virtue. And I promise my self that this Character will still appear to be true, to every one who reads with Candor the foregoing Pages, and consults his History with that *human Disposition* and friendly Spirit, which I think should guide all Persons in the Judgment they form of the Characters of others.

And

And agreeable to this Account he is spoken of with the greatest Honour and Respect, by other ancient Writers, who cannot be supposed to have any partial Attachment to the *Jewish* Nation. * *Artapanus*, an ancient *Greek* Writer, represents him as a Person who excelled his other Brethren in Wisdom and Prudence, and therefore betrayed and sold by them, and that when he came into *Egypt*, and was presented to the King, he was made by him Administrator of the whole Kingdom ; that whereas before his Time, the Affair of Agriculture was in great Disorder, because the Country was not rightly divided, and the poorest Sort were oppressed by the higher, *Joseph* first of all divided the Lands, distinguished them by proper Marks and Bounds, recovered a good Part of them from the Waters, and made them fit for Cultivation and Tillage ; that he divided some of them by Lot to the Priests ; found out the Art of Measurement, and that he was greatly beloved by the *Egyptians* on these Accounts. This is a noble Testimony in favour of this *Hebrew* Patriarch, as it shews how beneficial his Administration was to *Egypt*, and how

* Συνεσι δε κ' φερνησει ὅσα τῆς ἀλλῆς διενεγκοντα ὑπο ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλεύθηται. ἔλθοντα δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Αἰγύπτου, κ' συσάδυντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, διοικητὴν τῆς ὅλης γενέσθαι χώρας, κ' σφετέρων ἀτακτῶς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεωμορῶντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαιρέτου εἶναι, κ' τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστόνων ἀδικημάτων. Τῶτον πρῶτον τὴν τε γῆν διελθὲν, κ' οὐρεὶς διασημναδαὶ, κ' τὴν πολλὰν χρηστεύομενν, γεωργισμὸν ἀποτελεῖσαι, κ' τίνας τῶν ἀρεῶν τοῖς ἱερευσὶν ἀποκληροῦσαι· τῶτον δὲ κ' μέτρα εὐρεῖν, κ' μεγαλῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀγαπῆσθαι. Artapan. apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. 9. c. 23.

deservedly

deservedly dear he was for these Reasons to the Nation, and will go at least as far as the single Authority of our modern Philosopher. *Eusebius* also, who hath preserved to us this Fragment of Antiquity, gives us another Testimony from * *Philo* an ancient Poet, in Favour of this Patriarch, who makes honourable mention of him as the Son of *Jacob*, an Interpreter of Dreams, as Lord in *Egypt*, and as conversant in the Secrets of Time, under the various Fluctuations of Fate. † *Alexander Polyhistor*, who made large Extracts out of other Authors, relating to the *Jewish* Affairs, cites one *Demetrius* as giving the Character of the ancient *Jewish* Patriarchs. He speaks honourably of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, of whom he says that he was sold to the *Egyptians* at seventeen Years of Age, that he interpreted the King's Dreams, that he was Governor of all *Egypt*, with other Circumstances agreeable to the Sacred History, without one single Word to his Prejudice, or Reflection on his Memory; Circumstances that will be allowed at least as a Proof, that the Writings, from whence these Authors took their Extracts, agree in their Accounts of this venerable Patriarch, and had none of those flagitious Crimes to lay to his Charge, which this moral

* ————— Ιωσηφ, ος ονειρων
Θεσπινης, Καπηγεγες εν Αιγυπτίοιο θεσμοισι,
Δινενσας λαθραια χρονε, πλημμυριδι μοιρης.

Phil. apud Euseb. ibid. c. 24.

See also the Revd Mr. *Chapman*, Euseb. Vol. II. Præf. p. 6. &c.

† Euseb. ibid. c. 17, 18, 19, 21.

Philosopher hath immorally invented, and endeavoured to fasten on his Name and Memory. *Trogus Pompeius*, who wrote under *Augustus Cæsar*, makes like honourable mention of him, as * *Justin* his Epitomator represents it; saying, he was of excellent Abilities, became very dear to the *Egyptian* King, that he understood Prodigies, and first found out the Art of Interpreting Dreams, and that nothing either in divine or human Things seemed unknown to him; insomuch that he forsook the Barrenness of the Country many Years before it happened, and that all *Egypt* must have perished by Famine, unless by his Advice the King had ordered Corn to be laid up for many Years, being confessedly the Saviour of the People, as *Josephus* justly says †, and that from many Experiments made of him, his Answers seemed to proceed not from a Man but from God. The Accounts of these Authors agree in the main with each other, and all of them confirm the Scripture Character of *Joseph*.

The Revd Mr. *Chapman* ‡ justly takes notice, that *Alexander Polybistor* cites one *Demetrius*,

* *Excellens ingenium veriti fratres — brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat, et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit, nihilque divini juris humanique ei incognitum videbatur; adeo ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit, periissetque omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex, edicto servari per multos annos fruges jussisset. Tantaque experimenta ejus fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a Deo responsa dari viderentur. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 2.*

† Γεγεννημεν Θ σωτηρ ομολογουμενως τε πλιθους. *Antiq. l. 2. c. 6. §. 1.*

‡ *Euseb. Vol. II. Præf. p. 6.*

with

with an elder *Philo*, as speaking of *Joseph* agreeable to Scripture, without the least Reflection. But it is I think much more worthy of Observation, that || *Manetho*, who was himself an *Egyptian* Priest, and wrote of the *Egyptian* Affairs, and pretended to take his History from the Sacred Books of the *Egyptians*, though he reproaches the *Jews* * as infected with the Leprosy, and charges them with destroying the Cities of *Egypt*, burning their Temples, and murdering their Horsemen, and that they abstained from no kind of Wickedness and Cruelty; and though he speaks contemptuously of *Moses*, as infected with the Leprosy, an *Heliopolitan* by birth, and says that he was first called *Osarsiph* from the *Heliopolitan* *Osiris*, and afterwards changed his Name into *Moses*; yet he makes no mention of *Joseph*, nor hath the least Syllable to alledge against him. An abundant Demonstration this, that the Sacred Books of *Egypt* contained nothing in them injurious to the Character of this venerable Patriarch, and that even the Malice of *Manetho* could find nothing, either from the Sacred Records of his Country, or from the Tradition of his Nation, that he could urge as a just Reproach against him. But this no Man will easily believe, if *Joseph* was such a cruel Taskmaster of the *Egyptians* as this Philosopher represents him, † and had reduced them so low as that it was impossible to reduce

|| Ο των Αιγυπτιακων ιστοριαν εκ των ιερων γραμμάτων μετεβιβασεν υπερχυμενος. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. §. 26.

* Joseph. ibid. et §. 28.

† V. III. p. 19. 20.

them lower, or make them more miserable, had perfectly enslaved the People, was * the Ruin of *Egypt*, and had reduced the finest, richest and freest Country then in the World, to a State of Misery, Poverty and Vassallage, had intirely overthrown their free Constitution, and introduced such an absolute Power, both in Church and State, as had never been known in the World before. In like manner also *Apion*, against whom *Josephus* wrote, who was an *Egyptian* by Original, and wrote of the Affairs of *Egypt*, though his Invention supplied him with many Slanders against *Moses* and the *Jews*, yet leaves the Character of *Joseph* untouched, without one single Calumny to affect him.

These Remarks will I hope be thought a sufficient Vindication of *Joseph's* Character, from the Reproaches thrown on him by our Philosopher, as they do greatly confirm the honourable Account given of him by the Sacred Historian. I shall only add, that his Name is venerable in the *Eastern* World, and mentioned with great Dignity and Esteem: The *Arabian* † Writers, from ancient Tradition give, in many Respects, the same History of him as *Moses* doth, and farther particularly ascribe to him the useful Invention of measuring the *Nile* upon the Encrease of the Waters, the cutting some of the principal Canals, and other Works of great Use and Advantage in *Egypt*. The *Koran* of *Mohammed* is very liberal in his Commen-

* P. 11. † Apud Hotting. de usu Ling. Orient. c. 8.

dation, and the *Eastern* Tradition of him is, that he not only caused Justice to be impartially administred, and encouraged the People to Industry, and the Improvement of Agriculture during the seven Years of Plenty, but began and perfected several Works of great Benefit. And the Natives at this Day, as Mr. *Sale* observes *, ascribe to him almost all the ancient Works of publick Utility throughout the Kingdom, and particularly the rendring the Province of *Al Teyyûm*, from a standing Pool or Marsh, the most fertile and best cultivated Land in all *Egypt*; agreeable to the forementioned Account of *Artapanus*, that he made a good Part of *Egypt* Ground, and rendred it fit for Tillage, viz. † by cutting Canals, and making Drains, and banking them, to prevent the return of the Waters. I have only to add, that as most of these Sheets were printed off before the Philosopher's Death, I could not make any Alteration in them after it, and that I hope my Readers will forgive my Length on this Subject. *Joseph* was with me ever a favorite Character, and I promise my self I have not been altogether unsuccessful in my Endeavours to prove it an honourable and amiable One. I will endeavour not to be tedious in what remains.

* Koran. p. 194. Not. 6.
 loc. cit

† Elmacin. apud Hotting.

C A P. II.

T H E History and Character of Joseph vindicated.
P. 257

S E C T. I.

Of Joseph's early Disposition. 206

S E C T. II.

Of Potiphar. 262

S E C T. III.

Of Joseph's Prison and his Behaviour during his
Confinement: 267

S E C T. IV.

Of Joseph's deliverance from his Imprisonment. 277

S E C T. V.

Of Joseph's Advancement. 288

S E C T. VI.

Of Joseph's Conduct in his Ministry. 305

S E C T. VII.

Of Jacob's Descent into Egypt. 316

S E C T. VIII.

Of Joseph's Management during the Famine. 329

S E C T. IX.

Of the Causes of the Famine in Egypt. 343
Of

S E C T. X.

Of Joseph's enslaving the Egyptians. 380

S E C T. XI.

Of the Egyptian Priesthood. 390

S E C T. XII.

Of Chymistry, Natural Magick and Experimental Philosophy. 445

S E C T. XIII.

Of the Antiquity of the Egyptian Superstitions. 467

S E C T. XIV.

Of the Age of Sesostris. 526

S E C T. XV.

Superstition of Lay Invention and Original. 556

S E C T. XVI.

The Conclusion of Joseph's History. 585

ERRATA.

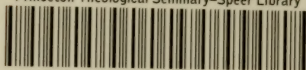
P. 421. Read the Quotation from *Synesius* thus. Ο παλαι
 χρενος ηνεγκε της αυτης ιερεας κ' κριτας. Και γαρ Αιγυπτιοι
 κ' Εβραιων εθνος χρενον αυχον υπο των ιερεων εβασιλευθησαν.
Synes Epist. 57. p. 199. Vid. etiam *Epist.* 121. p. 258. Edit.
 Paris.



BS1171 .C45

A vindication of the history of the Old

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00041 2710